

A SELECT
COLLECTION
OF THE MOST
INTERESTING LETTERS

ON THE
GOVERNMENT, LIBERTY, and CONSTITUTION
of ENGLAND;

Which have appeared in the different News-papers
from the *elevation* of Lord Bute to the death
of the earl of Egremont.

WITH
Several REMARKS and EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VOL II.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

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L E T T E R I.

I M A G I N E the reason why an answer was not given immediately to the queries which formerly appeared in the papers, and to which, as desired, the printers have once more afforded a place, is *not* that they are *unanswerable*, but that it has been thought, that, to all who know any thing of the constitution, *they answered themselves*: and that in *that* view they certainly *put the affair* al- luded to *in the strongest light*. But in *conde- scension* to the author of them, you may *again* reprint them with these answers.

Q. 1. Whether the king personally present and speaking to both houses assembled in the high C———t of P———t, is not as fully in the exercise of his kingly office as when he is represented by a judge in West- minster Hall?

Answer to Quere 1. The king *personally* present, and speaking to both houses assem- bled in the high court of parliament, is *fully* in the exercise of his kingly office; but **HE** is not at all in it when he is represented by a judge in Westminster-hall. The *constitutional* GO- VERNMENT of the kingdom is executing it- self, when the king's courts, not only in Westminster-hall, but in the lowest judicature in the kingdom, are dispensing justice, in the proper form, and according to the laws of the

land. The judges *represent* the king's person ; they are vested with *his* authority, and act in *his* name ; but may act in their *own proper person*, and are *personally* and *individually* responsible for what they say or do. When the king, *personally* present in *parliament*, pronounces a speech with his own royal mouth from the throne ; or when *any where else* he does the *personal act* of using his own royal hand, in the royal signature, or any other writing, in execution of the *royal functions*, he is certainly in the exercise of his *kingly office*. But, by the wisdom of *this* constitution, no act of the *kingly office*, whether *oral* or *graphical*, is considered as the *personal act* of the *sovereign* ; nor is or can be imputed to his majesty *personally* and *individually*. All *regal* acts of *whatever kind* are the acts of the *ministers* of the crown, by whose advice the king is *constitutionally* bound to act, and *only* can act *legally* ; and *they* are *personally* and *individually* responsible for them. Nor can they protect themselves from the consequences of the imputation by sheltering themselves under the *personality* of the king's act. The constitution rejects that defence. Express and positive dissent, and quitting the service, is the only *legal* cover against the imputation. *Responsibility* is the necessary attendant of the *service* which give the capacity to *advise*. Individual subjects may have *political characters*, but they have no *person* but their *natural* one. To *that* every act which is imputable to them is ascribed. In *that* they must bear the consequences.



sequences. The king, as well other men, has his *natural* person ; but he has a *political* one too : and in the exercise of the *royal functions* the *latter* absorbs the *former*. The king's *natural* person the *constitution* hardly knows ; inasmuch, that the *king* never dies, though the *sovereign*, as well as the subject, obeys the laws of *mortality*. To the king's *political* person *only* all *regal* acts are ascribed ; and the ministers of the crown compose that *political* person, much in the same manner, and to the same effect, that the individual members of a *corporation* make up the *political* person of it, which appears no where but in the seal of the corporation. The lawyers say, the crown is a *corporation* ; in the language of the constitution *IT* is a *political person*, several and distinct from the *natural* person of the *sovereign* ; a *real* but a sort of *invisible entity*, which appears no where but in the *ministers of government*. It *acts* in the exercise of the *royal functions*, and most usually *speaks* by the *seals*. Hence it is the *maxim* of the constitution, that the king is not allowed to *do any thing* in his *own person* ; nay, not so much as to draw and seal the commissions of those that are to act in his name, and under his authority. The royal signature *alone* does not perfect or compleat any *regal* act. They must all be countersigned by a proper officer of state, in the department to which the business they relate to belongs. It is as a necessary consequence of this principle of the constitution, that the well known (but perhaps very gene-

rally misunderstood) *adage*, has been received, *that the king can do no wrong*. The distinction is the true foundation of the *constitutional* freedom of DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT; to which nothing is more subject than the speeches from the throne. And it is no less remarkable, than it is firmly established, that in debating upon the king's speeches, it is against ORDER so much as to mention the crown, or the name of the king; or to ascribe the speech to the king *personally*. The reason is, that the members may not be shackled with a false respect for the person of the king, or awed from speaking their mind upon the speech from the throne, with as much freedom as they would upon any *other ministerial act* whatever. The distinction is also one of the chief pillars of the LIBERTY OF SPEECH without doors, and of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. All these, every one will admit, are essential to the preservation of the constitution, and of all those valuable rights and privileges which depend upon it. If the distinction is destroyed, or the principle of it weakened, the constitution is dissolved. There is an end of our LIBERTY; and the *most sacred* guard is removed, which the wisdom of the constitution has placed about the throne, to rescue and protect the *person* of the *sovereign* from, and to secure his enjoyment of the crown, against the dangerous consequences of *illegal acts of power*, in the exercise of the *royal functions*. This is effectually done, by imputing those acts to *ministers*, and levelling their effects, *not* against the

the *king* but against his *ministers*, who are the trustees of the *constitution*, and responsible for the due execution of the *regal office*. Of these principles this very short illustration may be added, that, so far as the constitution can instruct us, there cannot be the least doubt, but that the moment after the king has pronounced a speech from the throne, any member of either house of parliament may, if the case deserves it, move to address the crown, desiring his majesty to inform them *who* advised him to make that speech. Or, if they know the minister who did it, they may directly move to IMPEACH him for advising his majesty to make such a speech. And as the speech itself would be matter of the charge, the highest aggravation of it would be, that the minister had abused his sovereign, by making the royal lips convey to the parliament and to the people of the realm, things that ought not to have come from the throne, or proceeded from the crown. There is the highest reason to believe that those who know the most of the constitution, and are best acquainted with the history and proceedings of parliament, will assent to this position: and if it is a true one, it is thought it fully proves all that has been advanced.

Q. 2. Whether the speech delivered by his majesty from the throne is not as much his own speech as that of the right hon. lord chief justice Pratt, delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas?

Answer to Q. 2. Agreeable to the principles mentioned, and, it is hoped, established, in the answer to the first quere, and in the sense and meaning thereof (but no otherwise) the speech delivered by his majesty from the throne is *not at all* his *own* speech. That of the right hon. lord chief justice Pratt, delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas, is his *own*, and his *only*. He is answerable for his speech, as the whole court is for the opinion pronounced by them, to which they assent; and no other *is* or *can be* answerable, either for the opinion, or the speech in which it is delivered. For every subject acts in his *own proper person*, and is *personally* and *individually* responsible for what he says and does. The king acts, as by nature he must, in his *natural person*; but the acts of the *royal functions* are ascribed to his *political person only*; and his ministry, not himself, is responsible for *all*, even the *most personal* acts of the crown, in the *kingly office*.

Q. 3. Whether if mr. Wilkes had told lord chief justice Pratt that he had prostituted the honour of his court, that he was guilty of an infamous fallacy, and that he had endeavoured to corrupt him, his lordship would not have committed him to Newgate for that contempt, notwithstanding any privilege?

Answer to Q. 3. If any body was to tell a lord chief justice, or any judge, sitting in judgment, that he had prostituted the honour of his court, that he was guilty of an infamous fallacy, and that he had endeavoured to cor-

rupt him; his lordship, or that other judge, would, *if he did what was right*, certainly proceed *according to law*, to censure such an indecent and criminal impertinence, and indignity to the court. But if a person was to tell and to prove to any judge, that a servant or officer of the court, or any other person, had prostituted the honour of his court, and had imposed upon him an infamous fallacy, in itself very culpable, and doubly so for making the judge, by deception and imposition, utter it; and that the same person had endeavoured to corrupt him, the judge would punish the person really guilty of the wrong, and thank the person who detected and proved it.

Q. 4. Whether the king, lords, and commons, are the only part of magistracy that may be vilified, insulted, and libelled, with impunity?

Answer to Quere 4. The king, lords, and commons (if they were all *magistrates*, which they are *not*, though they be *governors*) are *not* the *only*, because there is not *any* part of *magistracy* that may be vilified, insulted, and libelled with impunity. But *according to the laws of this country*, no person can be punished but for *an offence* of which he is *convicted*. The *law*, and not a *hue and cry*, founded in *great ignorance*, and propagated with much *malice*, determines what is *an offence*. A *legal trial* is the *only* thing that can produce *conviction*; and after *that* is the time for *punishment* to follow. That a trial may be *fair*, it ought to be *impartial* and *unprejudiced*. But if a man is *prejudged* and *condemned*, before he is *judicially*

cially accused, there is an end of justice ; and all writings and speeches that tend to produce that effect are dangerous and illegal, not inferior in criminality and mischief to any offence against which they can be pretended to be pointed. No honest or humane man will be concerned in such practices : and *government*, not only if it is *just*, but if it is *wise*, will be so far from using, countenancing, or encouraging them, that *it* will, to the utmost of its power, check, suppress, and prevent them. The *law* requires that it *should*, and the *honour of government* is concerned that it *do*.

THE KING HAS ABOVE HIM THE LAW,
(BY WHICH HE IS CONSTITUTED
KING) AND THE PARLIAMENT.

LETTER II.

An answer to the four foolish queries twice published in the papers.

1st. **T**HE king speaking to both houses of parliament is fully in the exercise of his kingly office. Agreed ?

2d. The speech delivered by his majesty is the speech of the minister, advised and made by him, for which he is responsible ; whereas lord C. J. Pratt delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas, stands himself and all his brethren responsible for that opinion ?

3d. Ministers may prostitute the honour of royalty *contrary to the opinion of royalty itself*.

4th. The lords and commons, or one member of either house may, and *if true*, ought to declare that a king's speech contains fallacy, and

and an address may be moved to his majesty in consequence to know who advised it. If such an assertion could be deemed a libel on the sacred person of majesty, it could not be advanced with impunity in either house, any more than it could out of parliament.

L E T T E R III.

From the country, May 28. 1763

WHEN I heard of the late triumph of liberty at Westminster I exulted with joy, as did also all my acquaintance. It gave us infinite pleasure to find, notwithstanding the repeated attempts to destroy the liberties of this free country, that there were some friends to liberty left; some who were bold enough, and honest enough, to appear openly in the cause of freedom, and an opposition to tyranny and oppression. The spirit of lord Temple will ever be applauded by all honest Englishmen. He did not appear because mr. Wilkes had had the honour of his friendship, but it was in the behalf and support of LIBERTY, and in opposition to the star chamber practice of persecuting a *supposed* author, for a *supposed* libel, without any information upon oath; and the committing him, upon a bailable offence, to the same prison, and the very same apartment, in which sir William Wyndham was confined in 1715 for high treason. Had it happened to have been an inferior person, to whom his lordship had been an utter stranger, he would then, to have been his protector, have enjoyed a more real, and a more
sen-

sensible pleasure. I am told he was very
 sorry it happened to be m^r. Wilkes; he
 wished it had been any body else, that he
 might have given the most free and disinter-
 ested proof of his firm attachment to the
 liberties of every Englishman. It is some-
 thing not very common, in these days, to see
 a nobleman of high rank and illustrious birth,
 who has been an honest and an able servant
 to the crown, appearing in a public manner in
 the behalf of LIBERTY, at the hazard of the
 frowns, and perhaps implacable anger of the
 court. But his countrymen, with hearts full
 of gratitude, applaud him for his noble and
 generous interposition, and his memory will
 be dear to their posterity: the English historian
 will glow with warmth when he relates the
 honest truth. His lordship has, no doubt
 incurred the displeasure of the ministry; and
 every one must perceive, by his being dis-
 missed from the lieutenancy of Bucks: but
 has that *little* act injured him? or has it
 served the party who advised it? I believe
 neither. It therefore would have been better
 it had not happened. The libels which are
 daily published against him, both in news-
 papers and pamphlets, he looks down upon
 with contempt; and considers them as what
 they really are, the desperate and wretched
 shifts to which the ministry and their emiss-
 aries are reduced, in order to deceive the pub-
 lic, and support, what is impossible, the
 sinking credit with the people. His own con-
 scious virtue teaches him to despise both the

libels and the libellers. His spirit, his honesty, his integrity, his faculties, they cannot call in question; and his private character is amiable, is fair beyond the reach even of malice itself.

The warrant by which Mr. W. was seized, his house plundered, and his locks broke open, is considered as an outrageous act, in violation of the common privileges and rights to which every Englishman is entitled: an act that is not only terrible to reflect on, but brings back to our idea all the *tyranny* of the star chamber. The *hired* advocates of the ministry (for I will do them the justice to believe they have no other) vindicate this proceeding, by saying it has been customary. But I beg leave to ask the right hon. Mr. G——G——, the new head of the treasury, whether *he* was not, for many years, the *retained* council against these very sort of warrants? And whether if ever he was in earnest, he did not offer, what was the greatest sacrifice to him, to plead *gratis* against them? Who therefore could have expected, that under his administration, we should have seen these star chamber proceedings revived? I only hint these circumstances, that the right hon. gentleman himself may see he is not so ignorant of this, nor many other parts of his conduct, as he may think.

A FRIEND TO LIBERTY.

L E T.

L E T T E R IV.

Devon, May 10, 1763

BY all that I have heard, or that I have read, the principal reason assigned for laying a new duty on cyder was founded on a levelling scheme, and to the intent that the inhabitants of this and the few other cyder counties might be brought upon an equality by paying the like duty or composition for cyder with those of the northern and other counties, who pay composition for the liquors which they drink produced from malt made in their houses. And as the composition for cyder, being fixed at the same rate as for beer (i. e.) five shillings a head for every person in the family, drinker or non-drinker of either of these liquors, seems to confirm this supposed equality, I beg through your means to demonstrate, by an account founded on facts, how unjust this supposition is, and the impossibility that such a law could have been enacted, had there been allowed for the persons affected by this tax to have laid the injustice of it, and the grievances with which it is attended, before the parliament. I say, that had the notice previous to this imposition been given, that is usual in others, and just in all cases, no such law could have passed; but as it was done with so great precipitation, as not to admit of time for a single remonstrance from this remote county, which I believe is more affected by it than any in England, we can only, as we do with one voice, return

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most grateful thanks to the city of London for their timely and constitutional, though ineffectual, interposition to prevent the laying on of such a burthen; which, though it could not in its pecuniary consideration affect the citizens of London to a degree worth their notice, yet the partiality and injustice of the tax itself, as well as the oppressive and unconstitutional manner of exacting it, were so flagrant, as to produce that noble struggle for the preservation of our liberties, which will ever do them honour. Since, therefore, it was impossible for us to do any thing to prevent the passing of this law, nothing remains but that, by every constitutional method in our power, we endeavour to procure its repeal in the next session; in order to which I shall state an account of facts, which I know to be true, and which will at once shew the inequality and injustice of such a duty. But before I produce it, I will clear the way by submitting whether (exclusive of other considerations which I shall not now mention) if the duty paid by us of this county on that necessary of life, coals, was put into the scale against the northern counties, who pay, its true, a composition of five shillings a head yearly, for the malt liquor they drink, but who have their coals duty free, it would not be found much more than equivalent for our cyder, very dearly purchased, as will appear by the following account.

Six acres of meadow land, lett at
 forty shillings per acre, are bought in

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Devonshire, in order to be converted to an orchard (suppose only at 23 years purchase) amounting to ———

276l

Each acre takes 160 apple-trees, planting them at 18 feet asunder, which is much wider than most of the old orchards in that county. These trees at the nursery cost two shillings each, and if only 6d each be added for carriage, planting, &c. the six acres will cost in trees and planting ———

120l

396l

The charge of an apple pound press and utensils for making the cyder, and of a room to place them in, will be at least ——— ———

50l.

446l.

As during the first ten years, the trees being so closely planted, that the ground cannot be used for pasture, the produce will not be more than sufficient to pay the charge of dressing and manuring the trees, interest must be added for the sum disbursed 396l. for that time, which instead of compound interest, or reckoning any interest for the money laid out in building the cyder press, &c. compute only at five per cent. and it will amount to —

198l

To this must be added the land tax, church rates, poor rates, highway rate, and also the composition for tythe, (as

bein

being part of your other estates) paid for these six acres at the original yearly value of 12l. only, during the ten years while they yielded no return, at no more than seven shillings in the pound for all the taxes accumulated, and without charging interest for what is so laid out, it will amount to — 42l.

And then these six acres of orchard will have cost the owner at the end of ten years planting ——— 686l.

For this 686l. the owner of the orchard hath a right to expect a much greater interest than five per cent. in return for his sinking so large a capital: because, after about forty years, the trees having spent their vigour gradually decay, and though young ones are planted in lieu of windfalls and those that die, yet they never grow to the size of those first planted; the earth having, as its supposed, yielded out to the first tree its strongest and most prolific qualities: but, whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain, that an orchard thus supplied continues to grow worse and worse, till at last it becomes not worth filling, and then its grubbed up and returns back, after some expence in sweetening the pasture to its original state a meadow again. For this reason I say the owner ought to have much more than five per cent. interest for the money he hath thus sunk,

but as I mean to under calculate throughout, suppose only five, and that will amount yearly to —

44l. 6

After these ten years, the orchard may probably produce from ten to twelve hogsheads of cyder per acre taking one year with another.—To prove the clear value of this cyder to the owner, after a deduction of all expences, will require more room than I hope for in your paper, and therefore I choose to demonstrate the value by a method, that cannot, I think, be disputed, that is, by shewing what the orchard thus planted will at ten years growth let for, for a term of thirty one years, which will include its prime. The common value of orchards here, is only forty shillings an acre: but, I will suppose, though I believe there is no such instance, that this orchard being a rich meadow (for if it is in worse ground its return will be still less in proportion) would let for so long a term at 4l. an acre, and then the rent will be —

24l.

But out of this must be deducted for the rates, taxes and tythes above-mentioned, which, in this county are paid by the owner, not the tenants of orchards, computed as above at —

4l. 4

Trees to keep this orchard full, will cost much more yearly than —

1 16

61

And

And then the clear return the owner will have for his 686l. will be little more than two and half per cent. (i. e.) 18l.

Out of which must be deducted this new duty, as it must be paid by the landlords, of four shillings per hogf-head, at ten hogfheads to the acre - 12l.

And then there will remain for the owner only 6l. which being but half of what the land was worth before planting, it will doubtless be turned into a meadow again ——— 6l.

I have lived long enough in the world to have planted at a greater expence than is here charged, and to find a less return, but never till on the present occasion made the least calculation, presuming that what I saw my neighbours doing was right, and supposing that I was improving my estate; but from what now appears clear to every body, a tax may be laid on all *future planted* orchards, without increasing the number of excisemen; for it is found that the many thousands in this county, who have thus inadvertently sunk their fortunes in planting orchards for making cyder for sale, had better grub them up, than pay the enormous tax of forty shillings an acre, (if more cyder, more duty) and that too within six weeks after making, and before it can be known whether the cyder is worth even the duty thus to be paid down in prompt, at a time when the farmer having just paid for gathering in his harvest, and for making his cyder, hath not a penny left in his pocket.

In all other cases, nay in another part of this very act itself, the subject hath his option; he may or may not pay the duty on French or other wines by drinking them or not. In this of the cyder there is indeed an option, and a melancholy alternative it is (i. e.) whether he will be ruined by the duty or by rooting up his apple trees. One or the other is inevitable, the case is not exaggerated; for this duty, instead of being as pretended, a leveller only, by bringing the cyder drinkers on a footing with those who drink beer, is a tax on what may be called the stock in trade of the land owners in this and other cyder counties, who have planted orchards at so great an expence. What are the drinkers of malt liquor in advance to bring themselves upon a par? not one penny. Is this then equality? no it is flagrant partiality, and a burthen too heavy to be borne: it is just the same as if a person having innocently laid out his ALL in buying goods not taxed, or not more likely to be taxed, than the fruits of the earth, a duty should be imposed on his stock in hand to such a high degree, as to induce the possessor to suffer the goods to perish in his hands, rather than pay a tax equal to their value, and that too under the shackles of EXCISE. This is the miserable condition to which we shall be reduced should this law not be repealed; confiding that it will be so in the next session, I shall continue my orchards till that time, when, if it is not, I assure you that I will confirm the truth of what I have here

said

said by destroying them, rather than pay a second rent for them by a duty of forty or fifty shillings an acre. If it is intended to be repealed, I wish some method could in the mean time be found out to give an assurance of it for quieting the minds of people, which were greatly agitated at the sight of this yoke, but are now inflamed to a degree I never before saw, and the consequence of which I greatly dread, by the report that obedience to **EXCISE LAWS** is to be enforced by **SOLDIERS**.
DAMNONIENSIS.

[The conclusion of this letter was verified, for some regiments were sent in August following.]

LETTER V.

Some hints submitted to the consideration of the owners and occupiers of lands in the county of Devon, upon the steps most proper to be taken in order to obtain a repeal of the tax upon cyder. By a freeholder of that county.

June 1763.

IT is unnecessary at this time of day to expatiate on that melancholy train of evils which must unavoidably follow from the establishment of this tax, or to enter into a particular enumeration of its fatal and destructive consequences to the prosperity and welfare of those parts of the kingdom which are unhappily subjected to it. These are matters so fully understood, and so universally acknowledged, wherever its influence extends, and the alarm they have given has been so strong, and has spread so wide, that as far as the unanimous complaints and loud outcries of a people, at
 th

the prospect of the distress which threatens to overwhelm them, may be supposed to carry with them any weight, or to have any chance of prevailing, we might not unreasonably flatter ourselves with the hopes of redress. Notwithstanding all this, however, there is great reason to apprehend, and I have good authority for saying, that all our representations hitherto have not produced all that effect which might be wished on the sentiments and inclinations of those who are understood to have the greatest influence on the public deliberations. Nor ought this indeed to occasion our wonder, No administration will chose to part with a tax of which they are in possession, until they are convinced that their own interest render such a condescension prudent at least, if not absolutely necessary. It happens, unfortunately, that just at this conjuncture the public authority of government has been deeply wounded by the licentious outrage of faction. This has excited a very general resentment among people of understanding and temper; and an administration will very naturally fall in with the turn of the tide, and think themselves justified in affecting a more than ordinary degree of firmness, and even of stiffness, upon every proposed alteration which has the appearance of being recommended by popular clamour. To give way to it by receding, and treading backwards those measures which are already taken, will with great plausibility be said to be intrenching upon the reputation, weakening the hands, and degrading the authority of government; and

and thus the respectful remonstrances of a dutiful and loyal people, extorted from them by the near approach of a calamity which threatens little less than ruin to their most essential interests, will easily be confounded with the lawless excesses of seditious insolence.

But whether this reluctance of the people in power, to grant us the relief we are so loudly calling for, is to be ascribed to these or any other causes, and whatever the pretext may be under which it is disguised, the fact, I apprehend, is pretty certain, that there is no intention at present to repeal the cyder tax: at least prudence requires we should understand it thus, that we may be prepared for all events, and not be lulled by a fatal security in the neglect of those means which are still in our power to work out our own redress. The utmost, I am afraid, that we are encouraged to hope for is, some alteration in the forms of collection, whereby the levying it may be rendered less impracticable, and perhaps some farther indulgence as to the time of payment. But these, and every other relief of this kind that may be offered, are no better than mere palliatives. They can serve no other purpose than that of gilding the nauseous pill that is to be crammed down, in order that we may be prevailed upon to swallow it with less struggle. That complication of mischief which this tax must infallibly bring upon us springs out of its very nature, is inseparable from it under every shape in which it may be

be modelled, and will yield to no correctives which can possibly be applied to it. Let us therefore not suffer the change to be put upon us by any artifice of this kind. Let us lay it down as a maxim not to be controverted, that if our instances for redress on the very next opportunity of applying for it are evaded or eluded, under the pretext of trying further experiments, these shackles will be for ever irremediably fixed on us and our posterity.

Having pointed out the chief obstacles which stand in the way of that repeal we aim at, I am in course led to consider the methods by which they may be most effectually surmounted, and the steps which it may be most expedient for us to take in order to insure our success. And in the first place I think we ought most carefully to separate our present application from every the least faction and cabal. Let the great people above squabble among themselves as they please for place, and for power. Every thing of this kind should be considered by us with the most absolute indifference. In whatever hands the administration is lodged we shall be treated pretty nearly on the same footing. Past experience ought to have convinced us long ago of this truth; and he must be an incorrigible dupe indeed who has not yet found out, that popularity is courted from no other motive than as a step to power, or that expects, when this end is once accomplished, any better return for our confidence than kicking down that ladder which was the instrument of ascending to it.

In the next place we should be extremely careful to discountenance and suppress every thing that has the least tendency towards tumult and violence. All attempts of this nature are in reality so many additional difficulties thrown in the way of that redress we are seeking. How reasonable soever our pretensions may be, every government will, I am sure every government for its own honour and preservation ought, to hold so much the faster, whatever is attempted to be wrested out of its hands by such unjustifiable and dangerous methods; while at the same time it might be disposed to give it up with a better grace upon our making a proper use of those resources with which our constitution abundantly furnishes us.

But the grand point, on which our success will principally depend, is, the establishing a constitutional union and concert among all those who are interested in the intended application. In the condition in which we are at present we are a mere rope of sand. Single and unconnected, we are consequently without force or influence. Armed with a share of constitutional power sufficient to command the attention, and even the respect, of the most firmly established administration, we shall be found to have scarce weight sufficient to merit the regard of one of yesterday, still in a state of actual fluctuation. Separate answers will easily evade the pressing instances of separate applications; and what cannot in prudence be denied to the united remonstrances of
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so considerable a part of the kingdom will be without scruple or hesitation refused to the distinct and private representations of the particular members. We have before our eyes the most convincing proof of the wonderful efficacy of such an union as is here proposed in the other part of these united kingdoms. Every one knows, that, wherever the interests of Scotland are in question, the Scotch members are to be depended upon to a man; and those interests have in consequence been respected by every administration. However complaisant they may have found them on every other occasion, yet it has always been with the exception — *usque ad aras*. Nor would a member, who should have dared to have sacrificed the national interests in any one instance, ever have ventured to shew his face in Scotland afterwards, much less would he have the assurance to pretend to any future confidence. Let us therefore learn wisdom from a nation which in its own concerns has never been suspected of being deficient in it, and, having so much a larger share in the legislature (I speak of all that part of the kingdom which is interested in the present question) let us not fall a sacrifice to our want of public spirit and unanimity.

May I be allowed to mention, without offence, the result of the late general meeting of the gentlemen of this county, as a recent and pregnant proof how little fruit is to be expected from any measures taken without previous concert? The end and object of this meeting

was to deliberate on the steps most proper and available to be taken in order to procure the repeal of the cyder tax; an end the most interesting to this county that has perhaps ever been offered to our consideration. To what a height was the general expectation raised from so numerous an appearance of gentlemen the most distinguished by their rank, fortune, and character? and what has it at last terminated in? In an address of thanks to our representatives, which was without doubt extremely proper, and what gratitude for their eminent and signal services justly demanded of us; in a request to them, that they would at the ensuing session exert their utmost endeavours to procure this repeal; and in a petition to the house of commons, in order to bring it under a constitutional deliberation. But how little are we advanced by all this towards obtaining the repeal itself? We might equally have depended on the zeal and activity of our representatives, whether we had requested the continuance of it, or not: and the petition, being confined to a few general reflections, can scarce produce any very considerable effect, or make any other impression to our advantage, where it is aimed, than as far as it is a testimony of the general sense of the county; and yet we have had the misfortune to experience, that, though this sense was as well known and understood at the time the tax was first proposed, as it will, or can be, by this expression of it, it was not then thought worthy the attention of those who hurried on the

determination with such uncommon rapidity. No detail in the petition or at least a very imperfect one only of those particular circumstances inseparable from this tax, which render it the most unequal, the most burthensome, the most grievous, and the most oppressive, that could have entered into the imagination of a projector, and which make it impracticable to levy it without spreading ruin and desolation through the county. No allegation of facts from which the truth of these premises might be made appear, by the fullest, most convincing, and undeniable evidence. Nor would it be understood by this representation to throw any blame on the gentlemen concerned in drawing it up. In their situation it was perhaps impossible to do better. As there had been no previous concert, no person came prepared; and the shortness of the time allotted for the performance of their task did not permit them to enter into so minute and exact an examination of those facts and circumstances, as would have been necessary to the stating them with that accuracy, which is justly required in whatever is submitted to a public enquiry. No measures were taken, nor, as far as I have heard, even suggested, to procure a concurrence of petitions to the legislature, and of instructions to their several representatives, from the several boroughs of this county, much less from those of other counties united by the same common interest; though, whatever weight the sentiments of the county may be supposed to carry with them, it is certain, that the mo-

inconsiderable of those boroughs has an equal share with it in the legislature. Nor ought this neither to surprize us. Every gentleman came with the expectation of hearing some scheme proposed : no person had prepared one himself. Thus the proverb was literally verified; what is the business of every one was considered as properly the business of no one; and it appeared evident on this occasion, as it will on all others under the like circumstances, that the proper province and talent of large assemblies under no established regulation or order, is not consultation, but decision. It was indeed proposed by a very worthy gentleman, that we should address the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, with thanks for the assistance they had already afforded us, and a request for the continuance of it. But this, as I am informed, was opposed by a gentleman of a profession, which whatever advantages it may draw from an habitual fluency of haranguing, is perhaps the less proper to assume that lead which it affects to take in all public determinations, upon the account of strict attachment to forms which is of its very essence, and to which it is ever prepared to sacrifice the intrinsic merits of the thing in question. The objection was indeed perfectly in the true taste of the profession. It was said, that addressing the city of London would be erecting them into a fourth branch of the legislature. And this objection, as palpably frivolous as it is, very naturally prevailed, while no one, under

the uncertainty how far he should be supported, had the courage to controvert it. But, change only the word, address, for that of application, and the objection instantly vanishes: since there can be certainly no impropriety in thanking any man or body of men for the disinterested support already vouchsafed us, or in intreating the same support for the future, when it is apprehended it may be of service to us.

It is now time to quit the unpleasing employment of remarking on past omissions and disappointments; and to turn our eyes towards the more agreeable prospect of the opportunity offered us of amply supplying every defect. The approaching meeting of the gentry of this county at the summer assizes affords us this prospect. A considerable number will be summoned upon the grand jury from all parts of it. Many others may not improbably be expected to attend on special juries. Custom has taught us to expect many more, from motives of mere curiosity, or the pleasure of meeting their acquaintance. And it is to be hoped that a still greater number, uninfluenced by either of these views, may be prevailed on to attend by the still more laudable one, of promoting the welfare of their country on this most important of all occasions. When the gentlemen are thus assembled it is humbly proposed,

That they should form themselves into a meeting under the presidency of their high sheriff.

That

That they should elect out of their number a committee of gentlemen, to consider of, superintend, and direct, all such measures as shall be judged by them most expedient and conducive towards procuring the repeal of the cyder bill; and to assemble themselves for this purpose from time to time, at such place, and at such intervals, as they shall think most proper; and, in this view, that special regard be had to the vicinity of the gentlemen who shall be nominated, that they may be enabled to meet together with less inconvenience as often as it shall be found necessary.

That this committee do appoint a person of good understanding, abilities, and activity, to be the agent in this matter for the county, to conduct the prosecution of this repeal, under their direction, through all the steps which can be taken in the country, which may contribute towards its success; and to report to them, from time to time, at their several meetings, the progress he shall have made therein, and receive their further directions thereupon.

That this agent be amply satisfied for such his trouble, so as to make it well worth his while to undertake it; and, that for defraying this, and all other incidental expences which may be incurred, and also for employing a solicitor in parliament at London, if it should be thought requisite, when this matter comes under consideration there, a subscription be entered into, to be immediately paid down to such person as the committee shall authorize

to receive it; who, as soon as the point is one way or other decided, shall account for it in one of the public papers of this county, and return to the subscribers, in proportion to their subscriptions, whatever residue may be left.

That this agent do apply to every borough in this county, by letter, or even personally, if it should be found necessary, to remind them severally of presenting their petitions to the honourable the house of commons in favour of this repeal, in which they have all a common interest, and of instructing their representatives to exert their utmost endeavours in support of such their application; and that he do assist them, were it shall be desired, in drawing up such their petitions and instructions.

That he do, in the name, and under the direction, of the committee, apply to the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties of Cornwall and Somerset, in order to their establishing the like concert among themselves respectively in a point in which they are equally interested, and to their engaging in it the several cities and boroughs which are situated within, or in the neighbourhood of, those counties.

That he do extend this concert and correspondence even to the more remote counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester, and any others which by a similitude in their circumstances are embarked in the same common cause, as far as it shall be found practicable.

That

That he do cultivate an union, as to this point, with the city of London, which hath already by the late unanimous resolution of its common council declared itself so generously in our favour. For a repeal of so much of the late act as subjects the makers of cyder and perry to the excise laws is in effect equivalent to a repeal of the duty itself; since to collect an inland duty on liquors under any other laws or regulations than those of excise is utterly impracticable; and the produce of such further duty on such cyder as shall be sent by sea coastways will be found an object so inconsiderable, as to afford no temptation to a minister to disoblige a county or two by the invidious distinction of subjecting them to a tax from which the rest of the kingdom would be entirely exempt.

That at the first meeting of parliament for the dispatch of business, the representatives of the several counties, cities, and boroughs, interested, would be pleased so far to oblige their constituents as to give their earliest attendance in town, so as, if possible, to be all there at the opening of the session. That they would be pleased to assemble themselves together, and go in a body to the great man, whoever he shall then happen to be, acquaint him with the desires and just expectations of their constituents, request his concurrence and assistance, and at the same time give him to understand, with plainness and firmness, that in case he should make it his choice rather to oppose or elude them, he is to expect no complaisance

sance from them any farther than the indispensable exigencies of the national interests may require. This language will be readily understood ; and such an united representation cannot fail of having the greatest weight wherever it is made, or of contributing in the highest degree, beyond every other means in our power, towards working out that deliverance which we all so ardently wish for, and with so much impatience expect.

In offering this rough imperfect sketch to the consideration of the county, I am not vain enough to think it doth not stand in need of great correction and improvement. On the contrary, I propose it only in the view of exciting persons of greater abilities and better judgment to make those corrections and improvements, or even to substitute a better plan in its place. But at present we are proceeding on no plan at all ; and I am afraid the success of our endeavours may be expected to turn out accordingly.

After all, many will be doubtless inclined to imagine, that there is no occasion for all this trouble and preparation ; and that the cyder tax will be repealed merely in compliance with the general cry of the country. I most sincerely wish this expectation may be confirmed by the event. But as nothing is certain in human affairs, suppose it should not. What a poor consolation will it be to say in our excuse, who would have thought it ? When we have exerted our endeavours, it is then reasonable to acquiesce in the determination of providence ;

vidence; but how shall we be able to bear the reproaches of our own minds, or to reflect on those which will be made us by our posterity, when we shall be conscious of having betrayed ours and their most essential interests by our own weak credulity, and by the most supine and unaccountable negligence. THE FREEHOLDER.

L E T T E R VI.

I AM just returned from a tour into *Buckinghamshire*, which has afforded me much pleasure. The noble prospect from CLIFDEN HOUSE enchanted me, and I was in raptures with the many elegant beauties of *Stowe*. As an *Englishman*, I was pleased that all the great patriots and heroes of my country, *Alfred, king William the third, Hampden, sir Walter Raleigh, &c.* receive *there* that just tribute of praise, which this nation, while it remains free, will continue to pay to superior virtue. At *Stowe* both *ancient* and *modern* virtue are enshrined with grateful magnificence. Not only *good taste*, but *patriotism*, are conspicuous in that delightful paradise, the favourite abode of the *virtues, graces, and muses*. *STOWE*, however, has so often been described by abler pens, that I shall dwell no longer there, tho' I never leave it without the most sensible regret.

I returned by *West-Wycombe*, and passed a day in viewing the Villa of lord *Le Despencer*, and the church he has just built on the Top of a hill, for the *convenience* and *devotion* of the town at the BOTTOM of it. I must own, the noble lord's gardens gave me no stronger idea of his *virtue* or *patriotism*, than the situation of the *new built church* did of his *piety*. Some churches have been built from *devotion*, others from *pride* or *vanity*. I believe this is the first church, which has ever been built for a *prospect*. The lord's *rements* in immense letters on the

surprised and perplexed me. I could not find the *meri*, or perhaps the other word was *meri* from the *practice* as well as the *precept* of the noble lord. As to the elegance of the *Latin* his lordship has embarrassed himself as little about that, as he has about the elegance of his *English*. *Memento meri* is besides more monkish and therefore more becoming *St. Francis*. This conjecture, that the other word on the outside must be *meri*, is farther strengthened by the magnificent *gilt ball* at the top of the steeple, which is hollowed and made so very convenient on the inside for the celebration not of *devotional*, but of *convivial* rites, that is the best *globe tavern* I was ever in; but I must own that I was afraid my descent from the tower would have been as precipitate, as his lordship's was from a *high station*, which TURNED HIS HEAD TOO. I admire likewise the silence and secrecy which reign in that *great globe*, undisturbed but by his jolly songs, very unfit for the profane ears of the world below. As to *secrecy*, it is the most convenient place imaginable; and it was whispered, that a negotiation was here intimated by the noble lord himself, with messrs. *Wilkes* and *Churchill*. The event will shew the amazing power of his lordship's oratory; but if from perverfeness neither of those gentlemen then yielded to his wise reasons, nor to his dazzling offers, they were both delighted with his *divine milk punch*.

There is one remarkable temple in the garden at *West-Wycombe*, dedicated to the *Ægyptian Hieroglyphic* for****. To this object his lordship's devotion is undoubtedly sincere, though I believe now not *fervent*, nor do I take him to be often *prostrate*, or indeed in any way very regular in his ejaculations. He is however very consistent, for he keeps up the same public wor-

ship in the country, which he has been accustom-
 ed to in town. There was for many years in the
 great room, at the *king's arms tavern*, in *Old Pa-*
laceyard, an original picture of *Sir Francis Dash-*
wood presented by himself to the *Dilettanti* club:
 he is in the habit of a *Franciscan*, kneeling before
 the *Venus of Medici*, his gloating eyes fix'd, as in a
 trance, on what the modesty of nature seems most
 desirous to conceal, and a bumper in his hand,
 with the words *MATRI SANCTORUM* in ca-
 pitals. The glory too, which till then had only
 encircled the sacred heads of our Saviour and the
 apostles, is made to beam on that favourite spot,
 and seems to pierce the hallow'd gloom of *maid-*
head thicket. The public saw, and were for
 many years offended with so infamous a pic-
 ture, yet it remain'd there, till that club left
 the house. As to the temple I have mention-
 ed, you find at first what is called an *error*
limine; for the entrance to it, is the same
 entrance by which we all come into the world,
 and the door is what some idle wits have cal-
 led the *door of life*. It is reported that, on a
 late visit to his chancellor, lord *Bute* particular-
 ly admired this building, and advised the noble
 owner to lay out the 500l. bequeathed to him by
 the *Melcombe's will for an erection*, in a *Paphian*
 column to stand at the entrance, and it is said he
 desired it to be made of *Scottish* pebbles. There
 are in these gardens no busts of *Socrates*, *Epami-*
das, or *Hampden*, but there is a most indecent
 statue of the unnatural satyr; and, at the en-
 trance to the temple I have mentioned, are two
 urns sacred to the *Ephesian matron*, and to *Poti-*
phar's wife, with the inscriptions, *Matronæ*
ephesiæ Cineres, *Dominæ Potiphar Cineres*. Be-
 tween these urns, containing the sacred ashes of the
 great and virtuous dead, which are, with a happy
 propriety, DOUBLY GILT (though not quite so

strongly as that: *Hammer-smith* for the ashes of lord *Melcombe's*—wife) you ascend to the top of the building, which is crowned with a particular column, designed, I suppose, to represent our former very upright state, when we could say *fuimus tories, fuit ingens gloria*, and is skirted with very pretty underwood, the *Cyprian myrtle*, &c. the meaning of which I could not find out.

The house contains nothing remarkable, excepting only that there is on the grand staircase a very moral painting of a maid stealing to her master's bed, laying at the same time her fingers on her lips, as if she were the *Diana Angerona* of *West Wycombe*.

On my return I had the pleasure of seeing the noble lord's elegant *japann'd* coach; but while I was reading his new motto in Gothic letters *Pro Magna Charta*, the mob were hallowing *LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE*; and I was forced to make the best of my way to the park, where I found a very odd thing, which I mean to present to the society of antiquaries. It is a gold button, with *I H S* and the sign of the cross, enamell'd on it, which I guess'd to belong to some conceal'd brother of the society of *Jesuits*, tho' a servant in *green* claim'd it as the property of *St. Francis*, and said that it was a part of the *pontificalibus* worn by his master when he officiated on certain festivals of high laugh at the mysteries of —

I made afterwards a little tour to the celebrated abbey of *Medmenham*, the description of which I am sure would entertain you; but I am too fair a man to disclose to the public the *English Eleusinian* mysteries of that renowned convent.

LETTER VII.

THE Craftsman, the advocate and champion formerly of the cause of the

tute almost wholly the administration, in his No. 205. Vol. 6. has these words: "as princes never speak to their people but in *form* (that is, in *royal proclamations, declarations, and speeches from the throne*) so they ought always to calculate them in such a manner, as to bear the *strictest examination*, and to take the utmost care, that *nothing repugnant to truth* be contained in them; for, otherwise, no communication from the *throne* will have any weight with *the people*." He then proceeds to quote the preamble to the 15th article of impeachment against the earl of Oxford, which runs thus:

"That whereas the dignity and support of the *imperial crown* of these realms has, in all ages, greatly depended on the *wisdom and truth* of the communications made from the *throne*, especially in *parliament*, as the sure and only means, whereby the kings and queens of this realm can receive the sincere and faithful advice of their *people* in matters of the highest importance, and which, by the fundamental laws and constitution of this government, ought to be inviolably observed as the sacred band of the duty and affection of subjects to their sovereign. And whereas by the most antient and known laws of this kingdom it is indespensibly incumbent on the *great officers of the state*, that surround the *throne*, to maintain, as far as in them lies, the sacredness of the *royal word* on all occasions, it being most apparent, that the greatest *dishonour* to the throne, and the greatest *danger* to these

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kingdoms, must inevitably ensue, whenever *that fountain of truth, by wicked counsels, shall be in any degree corrupted, and thereby loose its just influence and necessary authority, &c. &c. &c.*"

Then follows, as I have extracted it from the article itself, that, "He the said Robert &c. was not only wanting in the discharge of that duty to his sovereign which became his high station, by not advising against, and, as far as in him lay, in all events, by not preventing even any intimation from the throne to the parliament, which was not conformable to the exactest truth and impartiality, but taking advantage of his ready access to her majesty, and his exorbitant influence in her council, and prepare, form, and concert, together with other false and evil counsellors, several speeches and declarations to be made by her majesty from the throne to her parliament, on the subject of the said negotiations of peace, and did advise her majesty to make the same to her parliament &c. &c. &c."

"By all which wicked, treacherous and unexampled evil counsils, he the said Robert, &c. did most basely, ungratefully, and scandalously abuse the favour of his royal mistress, and by means of authority did mislead her parliament into groundless and fatal resolutions, &c. &c. &c."

The principal managers of this impeachment, and who had the reputation of having drawn up the articles of it, were the late earl of Orford, then mr. Walpole, and the

gent earl of Bath, then mr. Pulteney. The authority of two such eminent personages must be prevalent to convince the impartial, that it was so far from being then esteemed an high misdemeanor, or even any disrespect to the crown, that it was most warrantable and constitutional to conclude, and publicly declare, that the ministers were always to be regarded as the authors or advisers of the *speeches* delivered from the *throne*; that the earl of Oxford was accordingly responsible to the *people* for making his sovereign the publisher of *falsehood* and *prevarication*, in the *formal exercise of her office*, from the throne; and that it was a proper charge of *high treason* to be brought against a minister, that he had endeavoured to cover his own mismanagements, and to screen himself, by involving his royal mistress in such a guilt.

It is to be hoped therefore, that *ministers* will never again have the insolence to make the *regal character* subservient to their selfish resentments, to their security and interests. Whatever *measures* and whatever *conduct* they shall find it necessary to approve, let it be no more their mean and paltry artifice, to sanctify them, by pretending that they are the *king's measures* and the *king's conduct*. Can they be so infatuated as to flatter themselves that the nation has forgotten how formerly, when they (being patriots) opposed the measures of the administration, right or wrong, for twenty years together, with the son of their king professedly at their head; it was then their

necessary and only plea for their justification, that they did not, nor ought to be understood to intend to oppose the crown, but the minister alone? They cannot surely, with any colour of justice, and with consistency, refuse to admit from the North Briton the same explanation of his opposition to the present ministers, that they professed and laid claim to heretofore, to palliate their own : and they must be forced to allow, from the quotation of the article of impeachment above-mentioned, that it is no new doctrine to insist that the *minister* is answerable to the *people* for the veracity of all the facts declared *officially from the throne* ; and consequently, that when the *speech* shall depart ever so little from the strictest adherence to truth, it may be argued upon and exposed, *constitutionally*, towards the condemnation of the minister, without any diminution of that respect, which always should be paid to the crown itself, and which more particularly is due to the person of the most virtuous and amiable prince who now wears it.

The Craftsman, that zealous supporter of liberty, with whom I began, concludes another of his papers in the following words, most applicable to the present times : “ Every Englishman has a right, by our laws, to judge and debate these affairs ; and I am sure his majesty will abhor the thoughts of abridging this liberty, though *weak* and *wicked* men endeavour to screen themselves under the protection of his sacred name.”

A LOVER OF TRUTH.
L E T.

L E T T E R VIII.

The advice of SANTON MAHMUD, to SOLYMAN the Third, King of the Turks

O king, live for ever! Despise not the advice of the humble, nor think any one too contemptible to do thee hurt : for a wren may frighten the steed which the king rideth on. The cackling of geese once saved a mighty state.

Be not provoked to punish offences against thine own person ; for that will betray revenge, beneath the greatness of thy majesty.

Offences against thy laws, let thy laws punish ; but pronounce not thou the sentence, nor say unto the judges, do thus.

Vex not thy land with oppressive laws ; for they will be disregarded, and will but serve to multiply crimes upon thy people.

Suffer not thine ears to be disgraced by private scandal ; for it is sufficient not to honour those of whom thou knowest no good.

If the mighty men of thy kingdom, by the strength of thy power, oppress thy people, let their palaces be razed, their families humbled, and their carcasses placed upon the highest pine-trees in the forest, as a prey to the birds of the air ; for they have dishonoured the king, in the sight of his people.

Suffer not a flatterer to abide in thy presence ; but let the voice of thy people be the mirror, in which thou mayest behold the majesty of thy sublime person.

Lend not thine ear only to the voice of one

counsellor; for so shall another man be more honoured in the king's house, than the king himself. Then, tho' seated on thy throne, with a crown of diamonds on thy head, and a cloth of gold beneath thy feet, tho' thou art arrayed in purple, and in the midst of thy guards, thou wilt be a prisoner; in thine own house wilt thou be a prisoner; for who dare to speak against the king's favourite? Thou wilt be a stranger to what passes under thine own roof. Who then shall guard thy realms afar off? Thus will the character of thy wisdom be lessened thro' the land; and moreover, thou mayest by one man be betrayed into the hands of thy most dreadful foe.

Cast off thy royal robes, and secretly visit the remote corners of thy great city. There wilt thou hear thy government spoken freely of, and the names of thy counsellors talked over.

The officers of the king's household are mighty men, but the people alone are his strong pillars of support.

Hearken, therefore, O ye princes of the earth! You who rule in the hearts of your people, are placed upon the backs of strong elephants; but the king, who has turned the voice of his people to scorn, rideth upon the horn of an unicorn.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

L E T

L E T T E R IX.

Extract from A system of the principles of the law of Scotland. By George Wallis, advocate.

DE F A M A T O R Y injuries cannot be done to the public; one is not liable to be called to account for misrepresentations either of the measures of the government, or of the conduct of the administration. It is lawful in this country to say any thing of public affairs; for the liberty of Britain depends on the preservation of this privilege: the public can never be much or effectually hurt by falsehoods or misrepresentations. An administration which is not able to prevent these from having bad effects, and to justify it's own conduct by publishing fair accounts of it, must be spiritless and feeble; and truth ought in all matters, which concern the general interest, to be allowed to be told. 'Tis the profusion of publications, which on every event proceed from the press, that rouses the spirit of the people, informs them of the true interest of their country, produces consequences the most important in themselves, and makes those who have not either departments in the administration, or seats in parliament, useful to the nation. I should therefore tremble to see the most distant approach made towards restraining the liberty, I had almost said the licentiousness of publication. A good government, such as that of Britain, may despise all the efforts of those who use their pens to misrepresent it; but

but you may ask, on what principles are these doctrines founded? I answer, on the spirit of the government, the usage of the nation, the interest of liberty, the good of the public, and the nature of the thing: And one ought not at present to require better authorities.

L E T T E R X.

The CONTRAST.

COL. Wilkes is a contrast to those that have been prisoners, in that repository of *rebellious and tyrannical* Scots, the Tower of London.

He is a staunch Whig: they were notorious jacobites.

He is zealously attached to our present royal family of Brunswick, the glorious maintainers of our civil and religious rights. They were bigotted to the tyrant family of the Stuarts, who for repeated attempts to enslave a free people, and reduce them to the state of **SCOTCH VASSALS**, were **BANISHED**.

His conduct has been steady. He was a Whig by family, and he remains so, though Whigs are discarded, and Tories promoted. He was a Whig in 1745, when the Scots were in arms against our **KING**, our **LAW**, and our **RELIGION**. He was at that time a friend to **LIBERTY**. When the Scots were in arms, in the cause of **POPERY**, **SLAVERY**, and **ARBITRARY POWER**. He was a friend, nay he revered the duke of Cumberland, because he crushed the Scotch rebellion; for which reason he is deserted by the Scotch.

Col. Wilkes's attachment to the present royal family has been gratis: Where is the SCOT that can say the same?

Col. Wilkes, with all his true English merit, his zeal for our KING, his detestation of his MINISTRY, his opposition to the extension of the EXCISE; his support of the LIBERTY of the PRESS; his attention to the privilege of PARLIAMENT; and his attachment to the HABEAS CORPUS, is, in the Scotch administration, rewarded with being a close prisoner in the Tower, and treated with a severity unknown to a rebel SCOT. While the Scotch, whose supposed affection, and whose change of principles, bear date with their commissions, or patents, and whose loyalty is an appurtenance to office, and will expire with the loss of it, are the rulers of the English. O TERRIBLE!

I and every other WHIG, and true Englishman, most devoutly pray for the welfare of our present excellent sovereign George the third: and that his reign may be long, and happy; to obtain the latter they wish him a ministry not totally obnoxious to the people; nor absolutely ignorant of their duty, nor quite regardless of our liberties. A ministry who neither loves the excise, nor detests, through the WAR, the liberty of the PRESS. B. X. P.

LETTER XI.

DURING the administration of sir Robert Walpole, there were strong debates in the house of commons, on the subject of keeping

ing up a large standing army in time of peace. Sir Robert was in no humour of thinking to reduce the army, because he very well knew the larger it was, the more commissions he should have at his disposal, and consequently the more friends to support him.

But as some plausible pretext was necessary to set a face on the affair, he trumped up a story which he put into the king's speech, and his majesty very gravely and unknowingly delivered it to both houses of parliament.

His majesty, among other things, acquainted them, he had received certain intelligence that the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain, had concerted to invade these kingdoms in favour of the pretender.

As soon as ever the emperor's ambassador at our court heard of it, he wrote directly an account of it to his master, who very soon sent him back an order to repair immediately to court, and desire audience to the king, and to assure him, upon the faith and honour of a crowned head, he never had such a thought or design.

Several leading men in the house, some of whom are still living, made no scruple of accusing sir Robert with having been the occasion of the king's uttering a falsehood; and yet, neither themselves or their papers were ever seized upon; nor did the king think an insult offered to himself, that they charged his minister with having misinformed him; for it was thought, his majesty was afterwards convinced of the falsehood.

W. W.

L E T

L E T T E R XII.

Some Considerations upon the present situation of affairs.

IT is an established doctrine in our government that the K. can do no wrong. Why should it not also be understood, that the K. cannot speak wrong? K—s have sometimes been overpersuaded by their ministers and favourites, to take the blame of their misconduct; but the English parliament and people have always disregarded that subterfuge, and asserted it to be their right, to examine and punish the minister's misconduct. Sir R. Walpole, under all the censure he lay for corruption, and for the convention and other parts of his ministry, constitutionally and not as he said, "he scorned to sculk behind the throne, and held himself to be responsible for what was done and spoke in his administration." The great statesman of this age adopted the same sentiment, and much is he to be commended for it; though a few sycophants rather enemies to their country, endeavoured to misrepresent his words and his meaning.

The houses of parliament have established the doctrine of the speeches from the throne, and the minister's; and a right view of the parliamentary debates will plainly shew the parliament's assertion and use of this doctrine. It would not be understood to aim at justifying decent reflections, or any sort of abuse of this doctrine; but while we do enjoy the liberty

berty of speaking and writing what we think
 about our religion, laws, and government
 (subject only to the judgment of the law which
 we exceed our bounds) to which liberty
 present religion, laws, and government
 in a great measure owing. I would be
 to be informed whether the people of Eng-
 land and Wales are bound to receive all that
 is delivered from the throne, or declared
 proclamation, with silent reverence, im-
 plicit faith, approbation and submission?
 whether it is absolutely unlawful for indi-
 viduals to talk, or to write about things which
 are represented and declared (as it is humanly
 understood) to the parliament and people,
 speech or proclamation? If it is not abso-
 lutely unlawful, how far may individuals go,
 no further? Where is the line to be laid?
 Perhaps it may, at last, after much discussion
 be said, our courts of justice are to judge
 the propriety and impropriety of all acts, writ-
 ings, and speeches, that concern any part
 or branch of the government; and to that
 and our juries may it ever belong.

It is a great misfortune and hardship upon
 the people to have their representatives taken
 personally, and high resentment shewn
 their pointing out apparent defects or faults
 the ministry or administration. If the
 tho' he acts directly according to the counsel
 and advice of the ministers of the state, is not
 to be blamed for their advice and their actions
 (as they are properly termed) when they are
 wrong, why is he to take and bear the blame

of their words, as the speeches and proclamations are universally understood to be settled by, and to be the public declarations of the council and ministers of the state, of what has been done or is to be done with respect to these kingdoms?

It is much to be feared, that a haughty inconsiderate favourite abused the confidence he was honoured with, and used his endeavours to spread some unconstitutional notions of prerogative and government, where his duty to his k—g and country required far other councils; endeavours which have occasioned the present misunderstandings, and have always made a principle part of the high charges against former presumptuous ministers and favourites.

Instead of instilling such notions, it was his duty to have recommended the history of our laws and government, and the writings of persons well versed in our constitution; such as Cotton's treatise upon consultations with respect to marriage, peace and war; even Hale's pleas of the crown, p. 159. part of the good lord Clarendon's life from p. 178 to 182 of the 2d. vol. Lord Bacon, Lock, Acherley's *Britannic Constitution*; and from p. 402 to 405 of the discourses of a learned and good judge, who is a living honour to his country and to mankind. *For* these and other writers upon our government are thought to have shown sufficiently.

That our government was instituted for the good of the governed.

F

That

That the prerogatives are only to respect the people, as observed in Shower's parliament cases and elsewhere; and particularly as to the prerogatives of making peace and war, that war cannot now be carried on without the people's consent and assistance, nor a peace made against their interest and approbation, without the ministers being made to atone for it; of which many recent instances are to be found in the times of Charles II. William III. and George I. that the crown of England is a *trust*, and the principle upon which it was created was, the — *Salus Populi*.

That the officers of the state, though nominated by the crown, are the servants of their country, as well as of the crown, and responsible to their country, as well as to the crown.

That the good and happy kings of England reign only in the hearts of the people.

The Godlike empire of an English king.

For what Leland wrote of the old Britons (the present Welsh language) may be said of the English—*amor libertatis—hæsit in lingua in fibris, in animo*. And when we speak of the K. and people, instead of prerogative and subjection we may with more propriety use the expressions of, The power and dignity of the crown, and rights and liberties of the people, according to the titles of—our “petition of right,” and—“bill of rights.” For our government is founded upon old northern natural reasons and rules,—*de minoribus*, pri-

cipes consultant, de majoribus omnes—and—quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari.

A. Z.

LETTER XIII.

THE king's speech being addressed to the lords and commons in parliament assembled, these lords and commons in parliament assembled must, in common sense, be allowed to be the best, if not the only judges, of the point at present so much agitated, whether the king's speech is the king's speech or his minister's.

Whoever looks into the parliamentary debates, will find, as often as the king's speech has been debated, just as often the doctrine was advanced and admitted without contradiction by the members of both houses, that the king's speech was not the king's, but the ministers; and this not as a *fictio juris*, a fiction of law, to give freedom to the debate, but as a fundamental constitutional principle. The minister may be impeached for what the king says, as well as for what he does; which shews it not a fiction but a reality. See the following extracts from the collection of the parliamentary debates.

Extract from the late John Duke of Argyle's speech, upon a motion for an address to the king's speech Session. 4th, septennial parliament, 1740.

"The king's speech is always in this house considered as the speech of the ministers; and as it has generally been, we may expect it always will be, a short narrative of the mea-

asures they have pursued, and a sort of panegyric upon every thing they have done; therefore we ought to be extremely cautious of saying any thing that may imply a tacit approbation of any thing they have done, or advised to be done."

From lord Carteret's speech on the same motion

"My lords. In this debate, as well as in a great many others, I find some lords are mighty apt to run into a mistake, which is of the most mischievous consequence in parliamentary inquiries. They cannot, and will not, distinguish between his majesty and his ministers, but call all public measures his majesty's measures; and from thence suppose that those who find fault with any public measure, are blaming his majesty's conduct and trespassing against that duty and affection they owe to their sovereign. This, my lords, is a most unparliamentary method of proceeding, for it is well known, that his majesty's name ought never to be brought into any of our debates. When we take his majesty's speech into consideration, though we have heard it from his own mouth, yet we do not consider it as his majesty's speech, but as the speech of his ministers. Though we were in our private capacity convinced, that his majesty had spoke off hand, and without preparation or meditation or advising with any of his ministers, yet when we come to consider the speech as members of this house, we are to consider it as the speech of his ministers,

wh

while they continue, they are answerable to parliament for every thing the king does or says; and if they think this a hardship, they may easily avoid it, or get off on't, by refusing to accept of, or by throwing up their employments."

From lord T——'s speech upon the motion of an address to the king's speech. 6 session, 4 parliament.

"As his majesty's speech from the throne is always in this house understood to be a speech from the ministers, and as our address by way of answer to that speech must consequently be supposed an answer to the ministers."

From lord W——'s on the same motion.

"My lords. If I were to consider his majesty's speech as a speech really framed by himself, and without the advice of any of his ministers; but it is well known that in this house we always do, nay we ought to consider his majesty's speech as the speech of his ministers.

From the duke of Argyle's on the same motion.

"As great a man, my lords, and as good a judge of our constitution as ever sat in this house, often gave it as his opinion, that if ministers were not, they ought to be, the advisers of every speech the king makes from the throne, and were answerable for every expression made use of upon such occasions. Who was the author or drawer up of the speech now under our consideration I do not

pretend to know ; but in this house, my lords we are not to say the king, we must suppose it his ministers.

From mr. P——y's, now E. of B. on the same motion.

“ Having said thus much, I am naturally led to consider some expressions, both in the speech and motion, which I must own I did not at first hear without concern, and to which longer consideration has not yet reconciled me. His majesty mentions heats and animosities : sir, I don't know who drew his speech up, but whoever he was, he should have spared that expression. I wish he had drawn a veil over the heats and animosities that must be owned once subsisted upon this head, for I am sure none now subsist. Therefore, sir, whoever drew up this speech, should have spared this expression.”

N. B. Here is a plain and positive contradiction in point of fact

These few extracts, without adding more prove, beyond a doubt, that the king's speech is by parliament always considered as the ministers speech. On no point whatever has the sense of parliament been more frequently or more explicitly declared : and the speech from the throne (this foundation once laid) has been treated with all possible freedom charged with all facts, as well as with false reasoning. Can this be legal, constitutional, and decent in parliament, and every where else illegal, unconstitutional, and seditious?

Surely

Surely not. Is it the privilege of members
 of parliament, in parliament assembled, to
 give the lie to the sovereign, or first magi-
 strate, in the exercise of his office? Surely
 not. Can it be necessary for the freedom of
 debate, or can it promote the discovery of
 truth in argument, to consider things dif-
 ferent from what they are? Surely not. The
 speech from the throne therefore, is out of
 parliament, as well as in parliament, to all
 intents and purposes the ministers speech; and
 by every subject (until there is a law decla-
 rative of the contrary) may be legally and
 decently treated as such. Upon the same
 principle, though the king declares war, and
 the king makes peace, yet both are the com-
 mon topics of discourse, and every one, with-
 out the least ceremony, applies the epithet he
 thinks they deserve. One damns the war,
 another curses the peace; and in all this, no
 indignity is suspected, much less intended to
 be offered, to the crown. By virtue of a po-
 litical hocus-pocus in our most excellent con-
 stitution, the s——n is transubstantiated into
 his m——r; his natural functions, it is true,
 think are allowed to be his own, but for the
 political, *vox & preterea nihil*. Long were
 my poor brains puzzled to find a meaning to
 the established universal received maxim, the
 great bulwark of the British constitution, THE
 KING CAN DO NO WRONG. But the won-
 derful powers of transubstantiation make it all
 plain and easy. When this discovery was
 made by our great statesmen I know not, I
 think

think it must be since the year 1688, for before that blessed æra, it is allowed on all hands our kings could do wrong as well as the meanest of their subjects. But however that may be, sorry, very sorry I am to be obliged to adopt transubstantiation into the state, when we have got so well rid of the monster in the church. As a good zealous protestant, I should rejoice to be better instructed, and to know upon what basis I am to rest my belief that the British monarch is ever infallible in word and deed.

Reader, do not mistake me for a friend to the North Briton; I abhor him, I abhor his writings; burn him I say, and his writings if the law will permit; and to add to the flame, toss in the Briton and Auditor, with their hum-drum performances. But let not one jot or one tittle of the law pass away, that these wretches may be punished. Till the constitution admits of a Dictator, above all laws, e'en suffer them to be wretched in their own worthlessness. *Pro lege semper* C. D.

L E T T E R XIV.

Rushworth's collections, vol. I. page 365
anno 1626.

*A remonstrance and petition of the peers, in the
half of the earl of Arundel.*

May it please your majesty,

WE the peers of this your realm assembled in parliament, finding the earl of Arundel absent from his place, that sometimes in this parliament sate among us, his presence

was therefore called for; but thereupon a message was delivered unto us from your majesty by the lord keeper, that the earl of Arundel was restrained *for a misdemeaner which was personal to your majesty*, and had no relation to matters of parliament. This message occasioned us to inquire into the acts of our ancestors, and what in like cases they had done, that so we might not err *in our dutiful respect to your majesty*, and yet preserve our right and privilege of parliament; and after diligent search of all stories, statutes and records that might inform us in this case, we find it to be *an undoubted right and constant privilege of PARLIAMENT*, that no lord of parliament, the parliament sitting or within the usual times of privilege of parliament, is to be imprisoned or restrained without sentence or order of the house, unless it be for treason or felony, or *for refusing to give surety for the peace*; and to satisfy ourselves the better, we have heard all that could be alleged *by your majesty's council learned at the law* that might any way weaken or infringe this claim of the peers: and to all that can be shewed or alledged so full satisfaction hath been given, as that *ALL the peers of parliament* upon the question made of this privilege, have *uné voce*, consented that *this is the undoubted RIGHT of the peers, and hath INVOLABLY been enjoyed by them.*

Is this a doubt on behalf of the commons in the reign of George the third?

L E T-

L E T T E R X V .

I AM unwilling to enter into the wild field of altercation upon points that are very forced to be solemnly decided. A great deal has been written already which has appeared much to the purpose on certain matters that in their natures are very interesting, and still a great deal more which could answer no purpose whatever, but that of bewildering the mind of weak people.

The laws are our best protectors ; and to them we must appeal for the ascertaining of every point whatever of right or of privilege.

The interesting points now in dispute are if a subject of this crown can have his person seized for any crime short of high treason without an express and personal charge upon oath, and if it is not necessary to have his name and such charge mentioned in the warrants for apprehension and commitment, in order to make such apprehension and commitment legal. Whether likewise (except in cases of high treason) any kind of accusation can warrant the seizure of papers or effects before conviction ; because thereon much must depend that may affect the safety of parties intended to be brought to trial ?

These are the great points now depending for decision, in which the public are interested, and they are most interesting ones indeed because they regard the privileges (not of parliament but) of the people in general. As to parliamentary privileges, they are such as can

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only be decided on by parliament ; and to parliament we may leave them for discussion in due season.

With regard to the person of the sovereign, nothing appears clearer than that its sacredness consists in not being concerned in any acts of government. All that a king says and does, as sovereign, our constitution supposes him to say and do in his political, and not his personal character, by the advice of others, who, as counsellors, are answerable to the laws for all his royal acts : and on this foundation stands the constitutional maxim which says *the king can do no wrong*, because the king is supposed to do nothing, as king of himself : nay more, our constitution allows him, as king, to do nothing of himself. It is a nice point therefore that remains to be decided, whether the people have a right to consider a speech made by the sovereign in parliament, and published by authority for general perusal, in the same light as such speeches have long, if not always, been considered by parliament, that is, the solemn declarations of the whole administration made formally by the mouth of the sovereign.

For my part, I presume not to decide on this matter. All I can venture to say is, that history furnishes us with innumerable proofs of sovereigns having received ill information, and acted upon ill advice. But from so doing no kind of guilt whatever could be imputed to them, because in those regal acts they were known, or supposed, only to execute what had

had been resolved on by those who were answerable for what they advised. Queen Elizabeth, who had very high ideas of prerogative acknowledged to her house of commons, that she had been imposed upon by her ministers and thanked them for interpoling for their detection, by giving her truer information: but members of parliament in her time received wages and instructions from their constituents.

The personal character of the sovereign ought never to be supposed concerned in constitutional or legal contests: and therefore they make very free with majesty who suppose it a party in a natural character in any such kind of disputes. There are certainly laws to support an administration too, which are sufficient for that purpose: and an administration knows well enough how to apply them in all just cases, for their own effectual support. Let them therefore always stand upon their own bottom in the repelling of attacks and not endeavour to confound the natural and political characters of their sovereign, because in the former he cannot err; but in the latter (which is his administration of government) he may by their means, and if he does, it is their peril.

It is natural to suppose, that no wise king ever wishes to abuse his power, because in the right administration of it he is always entirely safe; and any abuse of it whatever must prove to his own essential injury. In the prosperity of his people, is founded his own strength

In their happiness, his own felicity ; and in their approbation, his truest glory, and best security. An army that first enslaves a people will afterwards become the enslavers of the prince : and how much security the law is beyond the sword may be learned from the histories of the Roman, Turkish, and Russian empires ; and indeed from those of every despotic government which has ever yet been established.

A king's true interests and those of his people are inseparable and the same : but those of any party-administration are ever widely separated from both. Their scheme is generally to monopolize and abuse the royal confidence, and for their own emolument, and that of their adherents, to plunder the public. A wise and good king, therefore, will be always jealous of his ministers, but never of his people ; because the latter never can have any interest but in being well governed, and the former ever make the most booty when government is worst administered. Queen Elizabeth's reign was in most points, for England, the most glorious and golden one. She ever attended to the sentiments of her people in general, it is said was greatly regardful of their safety and prosperity. The public grew rich and powerful, while her ministers lived needy and died poor. She called monopolizers and jobbers, she leeches, which meant blood-suckers of the people. She was an oeconomist indeed in her husbanding of supplies, very sparing in bestowing any that were extraordinary, and

never prostituted her honours, by a lavish or unworthy bestowal of them. All of which common blessings and benefits resulted from her governing chiefly by the voice of the public, and not by the influence of a self-interested party; for any cabal that can engross the prince's confidence will be sure to abuse it for the sake of plundering the people. But these sentiments you may guess, mr. printer. I am of no party whatever, but as much a good subject as I am a good commonwealth man.

NO MATTER WHOM.

LETTER XVI.

Laudabitor est defensio.

TULLY.

THE reproach and slander, cast on Mr. Wilkes's *private character*, on account of his public transactions, (supposing all the private guilt imputed to him to be true) we know did not arise from public spirit, from a love of virtue, or a hatred to vice; but from an aversion to his *political* conduct, and a spirit of revenge.

If ever we should be curst with a set of *knaves, fools, and traitors* in power, and a private man should expose their *frauds, follies, cheats, and treasons*, what have such men to do in their defence? The only refuge or asylum they have to fly to, is, to defame the discoverer, and to rail at and traduce his moral character; in order that the truth of his assertions may be called in question, that he may be deemed a liar, and that prejudice may

anticipate

anticipate and weaken the force of his reasonings.

However, as mr. Wilkes has been made the butt for ministerial *slander* to empty her quiver at, let us enquire into his real crimes, and measure the magnitude of his guilt. He has been accused of *treason, sedition, libelling, fomenting rebellion, exciting traiterous insurrections, and of alienating the affections of the people* from his majesty, &c. a long chain of crimes, in a most beautiful anti-climax, from the accusers great skill in the principles of rhetoric. But let us suppose, the case should ever happen, that through the weakness and wickedness of evil counsellors, a prince, *whose heart is entirely British*, should be deceived and abused by such ministers; and made to believe, that political transactions and negotiations, dishonourable to the crown, and pernicious to the *state*, were *safe, advantageous, and glorious*; which was the case in 1712, and 1713; does the detecting and exposing such falsehood, fraud, and treason, imply a desire of exciting *rebellion, and of alienating the affections of the people* from his majesty; or rather does it not imply a zeal for the king's service, and loyalty and affection for his person? I leave every man to judge. Let this be as it will, sacred writ justly informs us, that, in order to *establish the king's throne in righteousness, it is necessary to remove evil counsellors from before*

Hence it is manifest, whenever the throne is surrounded by weak and wicked men, and the royal ear has nothing infused into it but

misrepresentations, lies, and falsehoods; and that sham accounts only are laid before majesty for wicked and corrupt purposes; as was the case in the reign of Charles II. of Spain who, when by accident he heard that *Mons* was taken by the French, was told by his ministers *that Mons was in England, and the reduction of it did not affect his affairs at all*. I say, the men who labour to detect and lay aside such evil ministers, soothing hypocrites, wicked imposters, and artful imposers, who, by royal confidence, are the only true friends of their prince; and indeed the guardians of his honour, the defenders of his crown and dignity, the preservers of the affections of his people, and the only sticklers for the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom.

But let us enquire wherein mr. Wilkes's crimes consist. Bare accusation is not sufficient to render a man obnoxious to punishment, and odious to the people; or at least ought not to do so. Let us suppose, that he has said, *that a late peace is precarious, pernicious, infamous and ruinous*, though voted by a majority in parliament, *safe, advantageous and honourable*. Has not such assent of parliament been oftentimes obtained, to sanctify the most treasonable and wicked measures? Let us consult the reigns of Charles II. James II. and queen Anne, and see if the *Demon* of corruption has not with his *pot* and his *brush* oftentimes *white-washed* the most filthy measures. On the other hand, have we not many instances in our history, where a parliament con-

rupt

rupted by *foreign gold*, has opposed the prince, the interest of the state, and the most salutary counsels? Nay, even against the general sentiments and bias of the people:* Do we not feel to this day the fatal consequences of such proceedings? In the reign of William the III^d. did not the opposition and treachery of an English parliament lay the foundation of the confederate war; and a British parliament in 1713, throw the *Spanish* monarchy into the hands of the house of *Bourbon*? When the parliament imprisoned the persons who presented the *Kentish* petition, did this alter the sentiments of the people? When by the delusions of a certain set of men in 1710, the people put their interests into the hands of deputies, who betrayed them to *France*, they did not remain long deceived, but in a few years divested the traitors of their power, and chose a set of guardians of another stamp; which makes good the observation of *Machiavel*, 'that the people are seldom long in the wrong, as the courts of princes are scarce ever in the right.'

Now if mr. Wilkes has boldly declared a state negotiation to be ruinous and destructive to the true interest of this kingdom; and to be favourable to the interests of our natural enemies, may he not be fully satisfied, as well as all unbiass'd and unprejudiced people in the kingdom are, that he has asserted nothing but truth? If this be the case, how can he be just-

* See the history of the French commerce-
bill, Chandler's debates, vol. V.

ly accused of an intention to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects? Certainly the contrary must be his true intent and meaning in such circumstances. The patriots opposed the infamous peace of *Utrecht*; and that rank *Tory* the earl of Nottingham, declared in the house of lords, ' that it was so captious, insidious, and pernicious, that though he had a numerous family, and but a small estate, yet he would readily contribute half his income to the support of the war, rather than acquiesce in a peace, that he thought unsafe and dishonourable to his country and all Europe.' The makers of this peace were afterwards impeached by a patriot parliament of high treason. Now, who were the true friends of her majesty? They who opposed her ministers, or they who led her, by wicked and deceitful counsels, into crooked paths, and broke her royal heart by impositions and villanies? Yet those who censured the treacherous and detestable measures of those times were prosecuted as *libellers*. The patriots were harrassed by the miscreants in power, and those last died in their beds, instead of a haltar, their demerits to the everlasting reproach of the justice of the nation, and injury of the people; as condign punishment would have struck terror into all succeeding wicked ministers, and made them more circumspect in their conduct.

Let us suppose likewise, that mr. Wilkes has insinuated, *that our protestant ally, the king of Prussia, has been lately basely betrayed*; he has

ventured no further than the *Whigs* and many
Tories stretched in the year 1713; though as
 it has been observed before, a house of com-
 mons voted the contrary; whilst all the *great*,
good, and *honest*, sighed over our infamy. But
 upon comparing the treaties of alliance made
 with the *Prussian* monarch in 1756 and 1758,
 with the preliminaries of a late negociation, if
 nine in ten of all the people throughout the
 nation, should believe, that our righteous
 ministers, violated their faith with the king of
Prussia, can mr. Wilkes be justly charged
 with endeavouring to alienate the affections of
 the people from his majesty by such an insi-
 nuation? Clamours against evil ministers may
 rouse a prince to enquiry; after which, he
 may drive hated agents from the throne, and
 spew them out, as corruption and impostuma-
 tion, that would otherwise contaminate and
 destroy the whole body politic. Those who
 clamour against evil ministers and wicked
 counsellors, are at all times the best friends of
 the prince on the throne.

Furthermore, let us suppose a sovereign's
 speeches, like many of Queen Anne's, should
 contain fallacies, and the assumption of ridi-
 culous airs of importance, which must be the
 subject of the scorn of those, whom they affect;
 surely such speeches, by our laws and customs,
 are deemed the minister's; they cannot be the
 prince's, for he *can neither do, nor utter wrong*.
 Which then ought to be entitled to their
 prince's esteem, and which to deserve the cha-
 racter of endeavouring to alienate the affec-
 tions

tions of a prince's subjects ? Those who labour to impose on the prince, or those who endeavour to detect all such impositions, and to drive *all evil counsellors from before the throne* that it may be established in righteousness, and erected on the firm basis of the peoples affections ?

Besides, evil counsellors call their own pernicious and corrupt intentions and measures *the prince's government* ; whereas it can be only the government, or rather pernicious tyranny of his wicked ministers ; since the king *can do no wrong*. However, it is in this manner, that wicked ministers labour to cover the multitude of their crimes, corruptions, and sins, under the mantle of royal authority, and to veil their fooleries, as well as their pernicious designs and intentions, with the specious pretence of zeal and regard for the safety of the prince and the public welfare. Hence they call those infamous negotiations which flow from the instigations of the devil, their own corrupt hearts, and a train of selfish passions and inordinate affections, *the government and administration of the prince* ; from whence it follows, that in fact they alienate the affections of all his people, who do not distinguish between the conduct of the prince, and the conduct of his ministers ; and hence the people often impute those misfortunes, which arise from the mal-conduct and guilt of the *servants*, to the *master*. Wicked ministers always pretend a regard and affection for the prince, to be the source of all their actions

as Sejanus did ; and that they have nothing in view but to preserve his power and ease, by preserving the peace of the community. But then this peace must be a calm and serenity procured by suffering them to *tyrannize, rob, plunder, and betray*, without murmur, complaint, opposition, or controul. Whoever does not implicitly submit to such measures, or dares to open his mouth against the basest *treachery*, the vilest *robbery*, or the blackest *treasons* against the state and constitution, he is immediately accused of being actuated by *pride, ambition, avarice, turbulency, and sedition*. In this manner the basest passions of their own wicked hearts are imputed to the patriotism of the king's best subjects.

If again a prince should be deceived by his wicked ministers, and made to believe that the most frugality was attended to, in the management of public monies ; when at the same time the most flagrant frauds had been practised, and the most impudent cheats set on foot, to support the most pernicious measures, and to sanctify a *sale of the blood, treasures, and commercial interests* of a state ; who the *alienator* of the subjects affections from the king ; such cheats, robbers, and impostors, or such bold informer of his deceived prince, and such steady and inflexible friend to his country ?

Lastly, if it should be suggested to a prince, by his wicked ministers, that his subjects were *indutiful, seditious, and rebellious*, and by the advice of such evil agents he should, with an unusual

unusual threatening air, and a sort of hostile defiance, declare, ‘ that he would defend the prerogatives of his crown, * as if he was made to believe his people were his enemies and his rights were unjustly invaded : † in such case, if a private subject should hint, that the pernicious ear-wigs about the throne had insinuated to the prince, *that the laws had endow’d him with powers, which in truth our constitution does not admit of*; who are they that alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, such vile slanderers, and corrupters of royal goodness; or he who suggests such evil counsellors are enemies to both prince and people; and that such hints could not be so popular, as might be expected from a prince who could have been so gracious as to declare ‘ his heart was entirely British?’ Such ministers are arch corrupters; such subjects like

* It would be more laudable for ministers to advise a prince, to comply with the genius and inclinations of his people.

† In queen Anne’s reign, when mr. St. John was called to account before parliament for some observation he had made in *his Englishman* on a passage in the queen’s speech, mr. lord Finch observed, ‘ that if some injurious insinuation was contained in it, yet the same could not without injustice be applied to the queen, but only to her ministers.’ Hence it is manifest, that the speeches delivered from the throne at this time, were considered only as ministerial suggestions, and not the sovereign’s.

Adiel in *Milton*, 'One faithful among many faithless found.' It is an observation of Lord *Bacon*'s, 'That princes should take care of what they say in short hints, which are always thought to be their secret intentions.' But thanks be to God, our king's speeches are never considered but as the speeches of his minister both by law and custom; at least if there be any thing in them *fallacious, false, foolish, or absurd* * This ought to be a caution both to *kings* and *bishops*, how they use their power. Queen Anne ended her speech 1713, thus; 'I hope next winter, I shall meet my parliament resolved to act on principles that may enable me to reduce the spirit of faction at home.'

If every true Englishman, upon reading these general observations, can put his hand to his heart, and thank providence that he lives under an administration, and administrators, to whom none of the foul crimes above specified can be justly imputed, how must he exult in our public honour, happiness, and security! But if ever ——— ———

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* The civil tyranny of *Charles* the first made *republicans*; and the ecclesiastical tyranny of *Laud*, *Neile*, and *Wren*, &c. made *Presbyterians*: For it appears from captain *Grant*'s account of births and burials, that the christenings at church from 1604, to 1640, greatly exceeded the burials, exclusive of those who died of the plague; whereas afterwards to 1660, they did not some years amount to many above half the number.

— — — There is not an honest sensible man in the kingdom, but what can fill up the long *hiatus* with a pertinent observation ; for which reason I will not anticipate this good sense and invention of my fellow-citizens.

TACITUS BRITANNICUS.

L E T T E R XVII.

I Observe that nothing has entered deeper into the late altercation about mr. W— than his private moral character. I am always sorry to hear of vice and immorality, and regret much that it is so common amongst fine gentlemen and people of fashion, that I'm afraid it cannot be esteemed any great reproach among them. I have the misfortune however to follow this rule, which is certainly a very *unreasonable* one, not to believe ill of any man without sufficient evidence ; and I have seen none offered to the public to support the accusation of singular immorality, made in the papers against mr. W—, that would not establish the same charge against a *chancellor of the exchequer*, or any other gentleman of worth and honour. Nor indeed am I quite satisfied of the right of anonymous writers to spread, or of news-papers to be the licensed vehicles of private scandal. I even question the title and powers of the public to erect itself into a tribunal for such a trial, or how it can give a fair one. Besides all this, I have always a violent suspicion of reports raised and propagated at critical seasons, and for particular purposes ; and I cannot put

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the highest value on those scruples of virtue which are offended with the vices of *one* man, particular circumstances, and make no complaint of the faults of others equally, if not more, conspicuous, and not inferior in kind or quality.

For all these reasons, I own, what has been said as to mr. W——'s moral character, on the present occasion, has made no impression on me. But be it what it may, I cannot help thinking it is very foreign to the subject of the dispute which he has been the occasion of. It is, in my poor opinion, not consistent with the rules of justice, nor even of humanity, to endeavour to create prejudices against a person who is to be brought upon his trial for a crime he is charged with. The mischief and impressions of that sort may be very fatal, and so far as they have influence, those who bestow that pains to instill them are certainly answerable for the consequences. I have known men hanged and *shot*, before now, more from the effects of prejudice, and a bad opinion of their general character, than upon any proof of the particular crime they were accused of. I always looked upon such instances as criminal murders, and that every one concerned in them had much to answer for.

To say the truth, nothing can be more absurd, I should think, than to talk of a man's *politics*, when his *politics* are in question; or when he is accused of sedition, to object against him the genteel vices of galantry and dissipation. I should therefore, as one indif-

ferent to every thing but justice, in which concerns the accusation or prosecution of me. W——, with that all that sort of inflammatory defamation was dropt.

At the same time, if any good could be drawn out of the evil which I complain of, because I really think it is itself a very great immorality, it would compensate, in some degree, the mischievous tendency of it. There has not been an act of his present majesty's government more like himself, than the usual proclamation he issued immediately upon his accession, against vice and immorality; which he declared his royal purpose to discountenance it in all persons, and in all forms, and to distinguish with the marks of his favour those who shewed a regard to piety and virtue; and particularly express'd his resolution to suffer none to be about his royal person, that were not of untainted character in that respect. I love the king as a pious prince, and because of his sense of religion, and the great regard he shews to decency in his own conduct. If his example was to have the influence that its own merit, independent of the authority of it, ought to give it, it would be a very happy thing for the nation. But bad as the world is, that same old fashioned thing called religion, has not entirely lost its value. One of the eminent services done to his majesty by the late minister, the merit of which is much insisted upon by the advocates for him (and with great reason, I think if the fact supports the claim) is his care to imbibe the king with principles of religion.

I know it was expected that the effects of those good principles, and of the same noble person's influence with his majesty, would have been seen amongst all ranks, in a very exact conformity to the end and design of the royal declaration I have alluded to. The king's loving and christian subjects would be very sorry if they saw (a thing that can never happen in this reign) the places nearest to his majesty's person filled with men who, if they were obliged to bring a character with them as the servants of private people are expected to do) must have it from Arthur's or New-market, or perhaps a worse place than either, because their talents, and their merit, are best known in those *temples of virtue*.

It is not my inclination to rake into scandal, nor to retail calumny, if there was room for it. But it is with pleasure that I can desire any body to look up to the highest offices in the kingdom, in all departments, domestic and political, that he may be satisfied with his own eyes how entirely vice and immorality are proscribed from the uppermost forms of the state. No promotions, no elevations to dignities or employments, have been made in this reign, that reflect on his majesty's amiable character for piety, for which all good men sincerely love and honour him; none that are disgraceful to the court, or derogatory to their professions of regard for virtue, who have the greatest share of influence with his majesty. Some remarkable instances of the contrary kind occurred very early after

the accession; and others have taken place on latter occasions; to shew the *uniformity* there is in that respect, in the conduct of those who have had the nomination to those places. If it were otherwise, the appearances would be so contrary to the professions of those who have had the honour to advise his majesty, and so opposite to the king's own principles, of which there can be no doubt, that no other account could have been given of it but one, which, if true, would have indeed been a most lamentable one; such an one as none but a very ill-natured person could have harboured a thought of in his own breast, unless a sincere respect for his majesty, and the firmest opinion of his good dispositions had compelled him to believe it: I mean that the king found, from the informations given him, that the scariness of pure and unblemished character was so very great amongst the highest orders in the kingdom, or that his service would suffer so much by not employing some particular persons, that the evil, however disagreeable to himself, and contrary to his declared and well-known principles, as well as dishonourable to the court, must, from necessity, have been submitted to. If that had been the case, those who did not like the thing could only have regretted it, compassionated his majesty, and deplored the state of virtue in the kingdom.

The *Augean stable* has always been cleaned when virtue had its just sway; and the service has been deemed very meritorious, both

the instruments of so good a work, and in those who appointed them to it. Perhaps there may have been times when it would have been a very hazardous experiment to purge either the court or the administration, upon principles of moral virtue. Even when a depravity of manners has not been universal, there has appeared sometimes a certain repugnancy between the good principles of virtue and political abilities, as well as the talents for the domestic functions of the royal palace; that if they had been to be made the standard of qualifications for employment, a king of England would have been in great hazard of wanting both ministers and servants, if the recommendation of a favourite or prime minister had also been necessary. In such days, it was no wonder to find persons who had no pretence to religion, and did not so much as affect the observance of the common rules of virtue, secretaries of state, first lords of the treasury, chancellors of the exchequer, stewards of the household, comptrollers of a queen's household, and even maids of honour. The court has been, in some periods of our history, so very dissolute and profane, that if I had been then upon the stage, strict as my principles are, I could not have pretended that fashionable vices, however odious I esteemed them, should have been a reasonable objection to the supplying places with persons of talents and abilities; especially if talents and abilities had been almost as rare as virtue itself, amongst those of rank

and fashion. Incontestable proofs, much less suspicions, and evil reports, should not, in so calamitous a state of things, have stood in the way of any preferment. The rule would have been dangerous, and none could have said how extensive its consequences might have been. It is true it was required of old the wife (and the same thing might have been of the servants) of Cæsar, that she should not only be chaste, but even unsuspected: but that rigidity of virtue would not suit every age.

It gives great satisfaction to the friends of virtue, that the discountenance which has been of late so remarkably given to vice, affords a good prospect of the total reformation of the court. The promotions there, and the choice of private intimates and favourites by those who have great influence there, have a powerful influence to correct the manners of those who aspire after honours and preferments. The late minister's private conduct, and his administration, have distinguished themselves in these respects; and they are the most indisputable proofs he could have given, that his majesty really did receive from him the impressions of religion and virtue which he most certainly has. The averments of the minister's most sanguine friends, and all the evidence they have produced to maintain them, are of small weight in comparison of such clear and convincing proof, which puts the justice of his claim of merit on that account beyond a possibility of doubt.

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These reflections I have often made in my own mind ; and finding a great indignation expressed against mr. W—'s supposed looseness, very justly, I confess, if it had been reasonably and upon good evidence, I thought it not an unfit opportunity to put others in mind that their conduct does not escape observation : and to let all know that those who think impartially are equally offended with vice wherever it is found. I hope those who would be the better of some reformation, whether they be in high rank or low life, whether in office or not in office, will correct their conduct that is culpable, that they may give weight to reproofs which they owe, or that are given by those who espouse their cause to others who may have offended them ; and that they may themselves avoid the censure that they see is apt to fall upon such as are thought to deserve it, if not *always*, at least whenever it is believed it will serve any particular purpose, to sift into moral characters. My real wish is to see the court pure, the administration virtuous in every sense, and the whole kingdom reformed, by the force of our good laws, the influence of the royal example, and a salutary obedience to, as well as strict observance and execution of the king's pious proclamation against vice and immorality.

AN OBSERVER, WHO LOVES THE
KING, AND IS AN EQUAL ENEMY
TO VICE IN ALL PERSONS, AND
AT ALL TIMES.

L E T.

L E T T E R XVIII.

[The following quere was published in order, if possible, to put in an end to the vile and infamous practice of the ministerial writers, of raking into *private* characters, and particularly mr. Wilkes's by shewing, there were blots on both sides.]

Q U E R E.

W H E T H E R it is a higher crime for a member of p—— to refuse living with his own wife, than for a secretary of — to cohabit with another man's ?

IMPARTIAL.

L E T T E R XIX.

May, 30.

T H E following paragraph was in the *Scottish*, and consequently *partial* London Chronicle, of last night.

“ We are assured that in a conversation, a certain great personage lately declared, ‘ I am a friend to liberty from sentiment ; and will ever protect the meanest of my subjects in their rights and liberties : but I am determined not to suffer an insult with impunity, though it were offered to me from the greatest.’ ”

I doubt much of the authenticity of this declaration. The laws of this free country are every man's protection ; and it is not in the power of the greatest either to give protection or to revenge an insult contrary to law. Something there is defective in this declaration

tion therefore ; and cannot be supposed to come with propriety from any individual of this country.

LETTER XX.

Quere

DO they who published, in the London Chronicle, a declaration, most scandalously imputed to his majesty, “ that he was determined not to suffer an insult, *with impunity*, though it were offered to him from the *greatest*,” mean to reflect honour upon his majesty, and to add to his real dignity ? or do they design to make it be thought, that his majesty, like an inglorious predecessor of his of the house of STUART, “ has the success of a *certain* prosecution much at heart, and takes a part in it unbecoming the majesty of the crown ?” This is what mr. justice Foster says of J. the 1st. as to a case in his time, mentioned in an extract from that worthy judge’s book, lately published in the papers, adding, “ that the case weighs very little, and no great regard hath been paid to it ever since, and that still less regard will be paid to it, if it be considered, that the king did what he relates as above.”—Are the authors of that paragraph, which nobody believes, friends or enemies to his majesty ?

LETTER XXI.

CANNOT help saying, that indecency is come to a very extravagant pitch, when such a paragraph appears in the news-papers as I read.

read in for the *first time* in the London Chronicle, publishing something in the stile and form of a proclamation, by authority, "that the k — (for there can be no great personage who can speak of his *subjects*, so that it is an idle affectation of delicacy to describe him in that way) had, in a conversation, lately declared, 'he is a friend to freedom from servitude, and will ever protect the *meanest* of his subjects in their rights and liberties; but is determined not to suffer an insult, with impunity, though it were offered to him by the *greatest*.'" I really suspect very much it must be some secret enemy of government, and indeed of his majesty, who could insert such a paragraph; for I am sure if he is a friend to either, the least that can be said of him is that he judges very ill. The thing which this supposed, I had almost called it a forged declaration, refers to, and on account of which it is inserted, nobody can be at a loss to know who reads or hears any news. And is the person who puts it in, whoever he be, aware of the ill consequences in a FREE COUNTRY like this, of making people think (for I am confident the thing is altogether without foundation, or has taken rise from some great mistake or misapprehension that the king debases himself so far as to interfere, personally, in legal proceedings, or even to hint, in conversations an opinion or sentiment about them? Declarations of kings, even in conversations, might with servile and compliant judges, be very efficacious. *Royal hints*, to bad men, are very

significant

significant ; such would even be swift to interpret and apply them. Just and good kings will therefore ever be scrupulously cautious to avoid them, in things where justice is concerned : much more take care not to make clear and express declarations ; — declarations that must have a meaning and design, and a very strong one too, but at the same time a very bad one. It is a thing not known to be done in France, where the prince is absolute, and the government arbitrary : and would it become the king of England, where the laws are the only measure of government, and the courts of law the only place where punishments and all other parts of justice are dispensed ? The courts of law, thank God ! in this country, are superior to the influence of the crown ; but it would be the thing the most unworthy to the royal dignity, and most inconsistent with the constitution, for the sovereign to intimate opinions, or make declarations, about matters that are or may be the subject of judicial trial, especially criminal matters ; or to give so much as a hint of his inclinations ; lest it should produce consequences which it could never, by any good king, be wished they should have. Does the author of that paragraph consider (for I hope there is not a subject but knows it, and I know the king places the glory of his crown in it) that the same laws which secure his majesty, and his august family, in the possession of the sceptre, do, and are sufficient to protect the FREE SUBJECTS of this kingdom in ALL their RIGHTS and LIBERTIES,

TIES, and against ALL INVASIONS and AT-
TACKS whatever?—would such a declaration
as he *publishes*, and I indeed believe *makes*, be
acceptable to, and of great estimation with
him, because he has doubted? or does he de-
sire to insinuate that any body else now doubts
of his majesty's gracious purpose, and deter-
mined resolution to observe his coronation oath
by which he from his heart engaged to main-
tain the LAWS OF THE LAND, and to govern
by them; which is the *true regal* power to pro-
tect the rights and liberties of the subjects
and the *only* way in which a king in this coun-
try can do it? Does he reflect that the king of
England cannot himself *punish*, or cause to be
punished, ANY MAN in these dominions?—
that it is the law, and the judges of the king-
dom *only* that can do it? Does he suspect that
the judges will not, in all cases, and on all
occasions, do justice? Would he have them
consult with the king, or the king to inter-
fere with them, in the duty of their office?
Or is he so ignorant, or so malicious, as to
wish it may be believed by any that the king
does this, in any shape whatever? which none
who are acquainted with the king's character
and dispositions will believe. Does he think
the king is so liable to insults that he needs, to
prevent them, to declare his determination
not to suffer them with impunity? Is he par-
ticularly afraid of insults from the *great*, that
they are marked with a note of distinction, in
his officious, and no less offensive, and un-
genuine (as it must be) publication? Does he

believe

believe that such a declaration as he pretends
 to promote (if it were ever made) is stronger,
 or will have a greater effect, than the laws of
 the land, which are sufficient to guard the
 throne from every thing that can be called an
 insult? Whatever be the mind of this person,
 who I do think must be very weak, if he is
 not worse; I, and I dare say, all the king's
 good subjects, rejoice to think that his majes-
 ty's princely qualities, his amiable virtues, his
 love of liberty, and attachment to the consti-
 tution, are so well known to all the people of
 these kingdoms, that they need no informa-
 tion of his dispositions, such as this (I must think
 fictitious) declaration feigns to convey; and
 should hope, few of them need any monitor
 of their duty to so excellent a prince: — his
 own royal character, and the love of his sub-
 jects founded in it, are an impregnable securi-
 ty against all insults; — and if any man is so
 mad as well as undutiful as to offer any, the
 law is sufficient to check his insolence, and
 prevent his example being followed. The
 law will have its course in every case, though
 the king should never hear of any particular
 case that is or may be depending at law, and
 though he never should open his mouth on
 such a subject. And no speeches nor declara-
 tions he could make, any where or to any per-
 son whatever, except in some place, or upon
 some occasion, when his royal words, are the
 voice of government (if he was so very ill ad-
 vised as to make any other, which I think the
 advisers would deserve to *suffer* for) will or can

have the smallest effect whatever. It is this same circumstance (THAT THEY CANNOT) however little it may seem to be, that is comprehensive of the whole of ENGLISH LIBERTY: In it lies the inestimable blessing of this happy CONSTITUTION.

PHILO REGIS ET LEGIS.

L E T T E R XXII.

I DESIRE you will publish the following most judicious and ever memorable remarks of Dr. DELANY, in his sermon upon king Charles's martyrdom, preached at the castle-chapel in Dublin, before the lord lieutenant Carteret.

“ It was perhaps necessary, that so great a sacrifice [of K. Ch. I.] should be made to the settlement of the *best constitution in the world* upon its proper basis; and the limiting of its parts to their proper bounds.

“ It was perhaps necessary that a monument of terror should be set up to the *princes* of a free people, to teach them, that no personal merit, no excellence of nature, no acquired accomplishments, no combination of virtues, can give quiet to their reign, or stability to their throne, independent of the affections of their people.” See *sermons on social duties*, p. 309, 310.

The administration of a *Scotch favourite*, together with the *English triumvirate* having been found too unpopular to be supported, the radical and absolute removal of them is daily and hourly expected, to quiet the alarming *ferment* thereby

thereby occasioned all over England; which, it is easy to see can only be effected by the succession of a *popular ministry*.

London, June 10, 1763. A *proper day* for the true *peace of England*, to tread down *Stuarts*, and *rebel white roses and thistles*.

IRENÆUS.

LETTER XXIII.

June 1763.

NOTwithstanding the long prejudices of the people of England against a standing army, the late war has convinced them of the necessity of it in a certain proportion, and the name of a soldier is become a more honourable appellation than ever it was before. The tribute of praises bestowed by a grateful nation on their late services, are mixed with concern at their inability, to provide for the reduced officers and men equal to their deserts. The national debt is already swelled to an enormous amount.

But though it may be improper to increase so heavy a burthen, even though for such a meritorious purpose, yet surely, what they have a right to should not be withheld. The public will be astonished to be told that the arrears of the army, are unpaid from June 1760 to June 1763; but it is certainly true, as well as that the whole pay for the army is annually raised by parliament; and one should therefore think, that the off reckonings, as part of it, should be regularly paid thereout. Why it has not been so, some say, that a pay

master has kept it as a fund to play with in the alley, others, that the exigencies of government have swallowed it up in payments it was not designed for : but whatever may be the foundation for so long an arrear, it must necessarily be a misapplication of the public money, and calls aloud for redress.

Nothing can be more equitable than when labourers have done their work, they should be paid their wages. Reduced officers of the army are for the most part necessitous, and the payment of their arrears would enable them to discharge debts to tradesmen occasioned by that delay, and would assist all in their retirements on the bounty of their country; but without some friends to plead their hard case, the most they can expect will be to be paid only one of their three years arrears some time hence, and it will probably be two years before the whole is cleared ; which by coming in such scraps, will not be in any sort of such service as the whole receipt at one time.

The officers of the national militia are under the exact same circumstances as those of the army, and have all the claim for their reckonings as the others have. Their service surely deserve good treatment, which considered as bounded within these kingdoms, have been as meritorious as the army's could have been in so confined a sphere. The consideration of these, being an opulent body, should have no weight if it was true, their due and right being still the same ; but it is well known that at least to the subaltern part of the militia officers

officers, their arrears would be equally as convenient as to the reduced gentlemen of the army.

PHILO MILITUM.

LETTER XXIII.

I AM (after having served the king in various parts of the world) returned to my native country, and as I was in the train of artillery and much wounded, on a representation of my case, I was promoted to be a quarter gunner in one of his majesty's garrisons in Great Britain, the pay of which is one shilling per day: this subsistence together with house-room, a little firing, &c. made me consider myself possessed of a comfortable subsistence for myself and my wife to spend the remainder of a life two thirds worn out with age and accidents. But alas! I find myself worse provided for than if I had been a private man at 6d. per day in the invalids: they are paid a week in advance, I can scarce say I am paid at all; for I have been appointed ever since last Christmas was twelve month, but have not yet received one shilling of pay, yet I have done my duty the whole time. This is not my case only, but is the case of every governor, lieutenant governor, surgeon, chaplain, and gunner, in every garrison in the king's dominions. Perhaps indeed about a month hence we shall receive one years pay to Christmas last, and by this means be always thus behind hand.

I will not say it is the king's or the parliament's fault, that we are thus cruelly treated;

for the money is voted and raised ; but a paymaster who acted with consideration and humanity, would find some way to prevent a man whose annual income ought to be 18l. 2s. 6d. for his long and faithful services, being reduced by agency, credit, &c. to that of about half the sum ; which is the true case of

ABEL MATROSS.

LETTER XXV.

THERE having been some letters in the papers, mentioning the hardship both to the army and militia officers labour under by the detention of their arrears which are due from June 1760, I beg leave to show the particular cruelty of it with regard to the subalterns of the militia.

At the first raising the field officers, captains, and (in some regiments) the lieutenants were gentlemen of independent fortunes ; but the ensigns were almost all either little farmers or farmer's sons and tradesmen of different denominations who were barely qualified : but after the militia had been raised half a year, many of the gentlemen grew tired of being separated from their families and connections, and by their resignations the companies fell to the lieutenants, and the lieutenants to the ensigns, who were replaced by people, who from its long continuance began to look upon a commission in the militia as a sort of provision ; indeed many of them depended on it for a subsistence : by this means almost all the subalterns consisted of persons in but indifferent circumstances,

many

many of them not legally qualified, as you may judge from the necessity of an act of indemnity for acting without a proper qualification.

Most of the tradesmen left off or lost their business, and the farmers entrusted their affairs to the management of others; and what is worse than all, they contracted a habit of idleness and taste for living in a manner by no means suitable to their situations or sphere.

When the militia was disembodied, many of those officers were more distressed than the private men; those who returned to their trades had a new set of customers to seek, and the former, after three or four years idleness, returned but awkwardly to the plow or dung cart.

That this is in general a true state of the case every officer of an embodied militia can testify; I therefore think no one will say but that those officers are in a worse situation than the subalterns of the army, who have half pay to subsist on. I would not be understood to mean that the militia officers have any right or pretence to that allowance, though in my knowledge, many foolish and credulous persons flattered themselves with it; but only mention this to enforce my argument and to obviate an opinion which perhaps our people or power may have adopted, namely that the militia officers were men of fortune, and did not want their money, which is so entirely otherwise, that many of them are now greatly distressed for want of their right which is withheld from them.

P. W.

L E T.

L E T T E R XXVI.

WHATEVER each man's private opinion may be on the merits of the conduct of the ministry with respect to the peace, all Britons must join in owning, that the omission of contriving some refuge, some support, either in a new colony, or some new branch of manufacture, for the disbanded soldiers and sailors, deserves a worse name than perhaps it is safe to give it.

As I speak from facts, I shall trouble you with only a few words, and may Heaven grant that they be striking enough to rouse, not too late, the spirit of honesty and gratitude in our rulers towards men who have deserved so well of each individual in this island.

What occasions this warm remonstrance? that in my passage from Paris through Lisle &c. about ten days ago, I found every town almost crowded with English soldiers, who were either enlisted, or endeavouring to be enlisted (as their numbers made admission less easy) into the French service. Of the disbanded men from Elliott's glorious regiment I counted twenty, some in the brigade and some in other regiments, at Lisle. I could not help taking an opportunity privately to reproach one of these for entering into the service of a nation which might be so soon our enemies. He directly stopped my mouth by saying, that he must eat; and that in England the government had discharged him while

without pointing out to him any possible way of getting his bread, in case he could not find work, which he said was his case. He wished that the same encouragement had been given to settlers as was after the last war: for, said he, any country would have been better than an enemy's. But, added he, what could I do? Would to Heaven I had been able to have answered his question satisfactorily. Are these things so or no?—If any one doubts what has been asserted, let him make his easy experiment; let him go no farther than Shooter's hill, let him count the foot travellers towards Dover, and let him ask each man what he is going about, and he will need no further proofs.

PEREGRINUS.

LETTER XXVII.

[When lord Bute retired behind the scenes, in order to prompt and play his puppets upon the stage, this state farce was embellished by dresses on the peace, *bought* from such, as, having no principle of their own, had the assistance to represent those that had. In London, this infamous scene was acted as the our next letters will shew, on the address of a number of journeymen, apprentices, jews, and other figures, which were misrepresented. the character of merchants.]

May 12, 1763.

THE practice of complimenting ministers, and justifying their measures, by way of address to the sovereign, has but two much pre-

prevailed in this country. There are never wanting mean spirited ambitious men, who hope to rise above their fellows, by serving the minister on these occasions. Respect for the crown is the pretended motive of their officiousness, but private interest appears to be the true one. These reflections occurred to me at a late meeting of merchants, when an address to his majesty on the peace was proposed. Nobody can more sincerely respect his majesty than I do; but that will not lead me to approve of every thing done in his name, and much less to believe in the real sentiments on that subject. I should be very sorry to see the honourable body of merchants, under pretence of quieting the minds of the people, induced to express their approbation of a peace which gives up those of our conquests which were the most important to our trade and navigation, and which, had they been kept, must have put it out of the power of France to have ever hereafter disputed the empire of the sea with us. Can we forget, that the exclusive right which we have gained by force of arms to the Newfoundland fishery, that grand source of maritime strength is now given up, without any national consideration? and not only that grand object but likewise that which is next in importance the sugar, coffee, and cotton trade of the conquered islands, which, it appears by authentic accounts, produces no less than a million and a half sterling annually, and employs a vast number of ships? In lieu of the

part of the country about the Mississippi is ceded
 us, which the French have possessed so
 long to no purpose. All their endeavours to
 bring it into a flourishing condition have by no
 means answered their expectations. Can we
 expect to succeed better in the like attempt?
 The difficulties they encountered will be as
 great to us as they were to them. One reason
 given for the proposed address was, to thank
 the king for the protection shewn the mer-
 chants during the war. This I have no ob-
 jection to, provided an intimation be given,
 how shamefully the ministers have neglected
 in the treaty of peace, notwithstanding
 a timely application to them for protection.
 The merchants concerned in the trade of the
 conquered islands are now left entirely at the
 mercy of the French and Spaniards, who,
 what appears to the contrary, may lay as
 great taxes as they think fit on the effects
 which we may have unfold at their arrival,
 or which we may carry them away if we
 please, and perhaps shall be obliged to do it;
 it does not seem probable that we shall be
 permitted to sell them where they are, no
 use having been inserted for that privilege.
 What hard will it be for the merchants, who
 had goods manufactured in this country
 for the Spanish and French West-India trade,
 to be obliged, after paying an
 enormous freight and insurance, to bring
 them home again with additional charges,
 afterwards have only a ruinous market to
 send

send them to! Let every merchant, who is not in the trade, consider himself in this situation, and then determine whether thanks are due to the persons who have so cruelly neglected us; for I cannot consider the proper address in any other light, than an address to the ministers; and a scheme for the aggrandisement of a few particular persons, the creatures, who are endeavouring to take the lead of their equals, and give themselves an importance at our expence.

A West-India Merchant

L E T T E R XXVIII.

To the Merchants of London.

A Set of gentlemen (by no means of the first consequence in the city of London) having more than once attempted to procure an address from the body of merchants to His Majesty on the peace, chiefly with a view to appearing to the ministers, men of no weight and importance, and having after several little meetings and private solicitations inconsistent with the very nature and dignity of an address, found their want of influence, have at length advertised a general meeting of merchants and traders at the King's Arms tavern, this day, [May 12.] to consider the expediency of such a measure. I leave to observe, that had this public meeting (the only proper one in these cases) been originally taken, whatever had been the determination it would certainly have had a more graceful appearance, from its being the result of an unbiassed sense of the whole body.

But when I reflect on the previous steps, it can surely be termed nothing better than a trivial proceeding altogether calculated for private purposes.

To evince the propriety of this observation, it is sufficient to mention the following facts, which are supported by many others.

Several particular persons were applied to at the beginning of last week by way of sounding their inclinations. A few notices were sent out on Friday the 6th instant, for a meeting that evening. Another meeting (of the West India merchants) was summoned on the 10th; both these notices without mentioning the purpose for which the meetings were called. On the last of them it was agreed by a majority, that it was not expedient to call a general meeting, from the apprehension that the address would not be carried with such unanimity as would give it its necessary weight and dignity. On the next day, the 11th, there was, however, a third meeting on partial, and most verbal notices, and at an unusual early hour; I had no summons; I attended through curiosity, and found the business conducted by the same set of gentlemen and their friends, who hurried on the question for a general meeting much sooner than usual; fearing, no doubt, they might have too much company: at least an express dropt by one of the gentlemen had this clearance; *i. e.* That none but such as were invited had a right to be there, and that they had a right to bar the door against any man whose face they disliked.

Vol. II.

K

Thus

Thus have the general body of merchants been treated by a few assuming interested persons, under whose management this intended address has already languished through the tedious operations. Destructive at least of its vigour and beauty.

Whereas had this measure been set on foot in proper time, and upon generous disinterested principles, it had doubtless been carried into execution with that spirit and unanimity for which the merchants of London have been so remarkable on every occasion of testifying their attachment and loyalty to his majesty's person, family and government

L E T T E R XXIX.

I SHALL be obliged to you if you will inform the public, that myself and many others, who signed the merchants address, are very sorry to find ourselves, for that one at all lumped together as approvers of the present administration. For my part, and I can answer for many more being of the same mind I only signed it as not being willing to be marked by those who forced this address down our throats, and laboured so to procure it. Thinking, I suppose, that it would come better late than never, as being against any opportunity of expressing my duty and love to our excellent sovereign; but should not even on that account have been induced to sign. I had not the drawers up of the address so prudently avoided any great applause of a people that every well wisher to the trade of the country

country must condemn and abhor the makers of it. I am very sorry too to hear that great pains are taken to make it believed that we addressed the king to shew our detestation of the measures taken by those who are called the opposition, as conveying insult to the person of our most gracious sovereign. The names of those great persons concerned in it are too well known and revered by all true Whigs to have them suspected of that; and whatever indiscretions mr. Wilkes may have been guilty of in writing his two or three last letters, surely the monstrous treatment he had met with may well plead an excuse for his being provoked to go a little beyond the rules, even of decency, with those who have shewn none to him of the constitution. " Let any honest feeling man lay his hand on his heart, and ask himself whether the being seized and sent to the Tower, there to have undergone as *close* and severe a confinement as possible, no bail offered to him, or any possibility of procuring any allowed him, and what was worst of all to have his private papers ransacked and all examined, would not make him liable to some heat and indiscretions which he would trust to every candid man's forgiving in him. These were the motives that actuated those noble lords and gentlemen who visited mr. Wilkes in the Tower, where they thought him unconstitutionally confined; and not, which has been most impudently asserted, for the sake of flying in the face of their sovereign whom

they love and honour." Mr. Wilkes's personal zeal, duty, and affection to his majesty I cannot help thinking still stands unimpeached; and I am confident if he did write the North Bilton that has occasioned all the unconstitutional proceedings and blunders that have been committed in his case, he did it with a heart full of all those feelings to his sovereign, which every subject of the king must justly join with him in, and meant his flattery only at those ministers who every company you go into think deserve it. In my opinion I think those people use his majesty most ill, who are plundering and stripping him of every thing he has to give, and who, governed by the old proverb of making hay while the sun shines, are feathering their own nests, and getting reversion upon reversion almost to the third and fourth generation to an unheard of degree. What confidence can we have in ministers who with such great and independent fortunes can stoop so low as to accept of portions for their younger children from the public, which I am informed one of our noble secretaries has done even for his last born infant three weeks ago, as well as for his other two?

LETTER XXX.

I Happened accidentally to meet the procession of the *merchants*, going to St. James's with their address, and I was glad to see among those who filled the coaches, some young gentlemen, clerks and apprentices, whole

whose friends might be among only by their help (I suppose to be the did observe the young principles of advancement well as and with through altogether being for peace, a in the hope if the me proof of the nation judges what it had upon what no I guess and so have been persons part of having whole

whose faces I knew. How many more there might be, I know not; as my acquaintance among them is not very extensive, and it was only by the accident of their reaching out their heads at the windows of their coaches, (I suppose to shew that they had the honour to be there) that I could distinguish those I did observe. It gave me pleasure to find, that the young generation is trained up in the principles of loyalty; and that their education is so perfect, that they are far advanced in the knowledge of politicks, as well as commerce, before they are out of, and with some of them before they are half through their time. But I cannot say I was altogether fond of the notion of *beardless boys* being set up to decide upon the merits of a peace, about which the wisest and gravest men in the kingdom have been divided. And I hope if the names of those who have signed the *merchants* address are published, as a proof of the sense of the commercial part of the nation, those of all such very *incompetent* judges will be subtracted, or distinguished, that it may be known what stress is to be laid upon the characters of those who approve what many are dissatisfied with, and I suppose not a few of the *real* merchants. This I guess from their address coming so late, and so great interest having been made, as I have been witness to for a week past, to get persons of all sorts, related to the trading part of the city, to sign it; and from many having signed it, though they disapproved of

it, as they themselves declare, not to disoblige, by a refusal, others they depended upon.

I might perhaps call myself a *merchant* with as good reason as many who assume that name upon occasion of *addresses*, but I am for the present content with the humbler name of a

T R A D E R.

L E T T E R XXXI.

[The ministry procured an address also from EIGHT aldermen of the city of London, and after that they attempted to extort one from the common council but in that they were baffled.]

June 1763.

AT length the ministry have tried their strength. As addresses have been procured from a parcel of Tory boroughs, Tory counties, grand juries, parsons who go to sessions and assizes for preferment, eight aldermen (who by the bye were not a court, as they were pleased to call themselves) the subscribers to the loan (whose names are recorded in the North Briton, No. 42) aided and assisted by the Jews, apprentices, clerks, and all the dross of merchandize. I say, as addresses have been *procured* from all these, it should seem, that the ministry hoped to crown all by procuring an address from the court of common council. But, unfortunately for those who would have snuffed the incense very graciously, this knock down compliment to the ministry was, at the previous meeting on Monday night, carried FOUR TO ONE *against* them. This was the *ne plus ultra* of the ministry.

L E T

L E T T E R XXXII.

AM glad to find such consistency in the conduct of the *real* representative body of the city of London, as will ever distinguish them to their very great honour. No ministerial management could prevail on the common council to either falsify their understandings, or wound the dignity and credit of the city, by voting an address on the peace, after the *dependent* boroughs and *little* bodies in the kingdom. The common council were so zealous in their respect for the character of the metropolis, (the preservation of which it is truly laudable in them to maintain) too just in these sentiments of their constituents, and too mindful of their own honour, to appear in the very dregs of this extorted incense.

As they have stood out so long, and, with spirit and consistency as will ever merit the approbation and just praise of the public, have defeated every ministerial artifice to bring them over, we may naturally expect the hired scribblers in the cause of the ministry will now begin to abuse them in the most scurrilous and infamous manner, as they have usually done whenever the ministry were not gratified. But I would advise my fellow citizens not to take the least notice of what such wretches may say; for we may be assured, that none but the tools of the ministry (I mean the hired ones, for I believe they have no other) will be so lost to the sense of honour, truth, and decency, as to call their conduct into question. The really wise and virtuous will term it, not only the glorious

glorious triumph of true wisdom and patriotism over corruption and the big sounding bombast of having influence enough to manage the business of the ministry, but a strong proof of the real sentiments of the city of London : of which the common council are the representatives, elected by the constituents nearly in the same manner as the representatives of the whole nation ; and do therefore, in the most legal and constitutional manner, convey, on all occasions, the voice of the city of London. The court of aldermen (which may be compared to the house of peers) does not, cannot, represent, in so direct and proper manner, the sentiments of the citizens of London, any more than the house of lords can of the whole nation, but is rather, singly and separately, the voice of itself only. Thus the constitution of the city of London may be compared to the constitution of parliament, and indeed the proceedings of both are almost similar.

I cannot, however, help remarking, with respect to the court of aldermen, that when they intend presenting congratulatory addresses to his majesty, on his marriage, the birth of a prince, princess, &c. the usual method is, for it to be drawn up by the recorder or any other person, and for it to be carried without any other resolution, than to present it. But whenever there is any policy, any business of the nation, such as addresses on the peace, and other important and public transactions, the court of aldermen is regularly called ; which

court

court *must* consist of TWELVE aldermen, exclusive of the officers, otherwise it is *not* a court; and the address intended is not only previously known, but is referred to a committee, as in parliament, who afterwards report it to the court, which may alter it, and amend it, as shall be found necessary. From hence it pretty clearly follows, that the late address, of only EIGHT aldermen, was not the address of *the court of aldermen*, as was lately printed in the Gazette. Nor was it, in any other instances, agreeable to the usual method of proceeding in these cases; for it was, in the first place, *surprised* on the lord mayor; in the next, it was not referred to a committee; and lastly, the number of aldermen was only *eight*, which consequently cannot be called a *court*.

I therefore think my fellow citizens acted very justly, in not paying any regard to this address; because, waving every thing that has been said as to the means of procuring it, it was by no means a legal one, from a *court* of aldermen; while on the contrary, I think, we can never sufficiently commend the *consistency* with which the common council acted, agreeable to the true dignity of the metropolis; which, as it always has done, should either bear foremost, or not all.

A CONSISTENT CITIZEN.

L E T-

L E T T E R XXXIII.

[The following letter was universally esteemed by honest men as a very true picture of times.]

NOwithstanding every artifice of those venal tools of ministerial influence, who have been lately seen employed in the ridiculous attempt to impose on the common sense of mankind, by representing their patrons as deserving praise from the public, I am heartily glad for the honour of the city of London, to see serve, in its common council, a conduct on the present occasion, which will certainly be applauded by every true friend to the constitution, and will convey to posterity an idea of their integrity, abundantly to compensate the abuse that may be vented against them by those creatures of the administration, who would sell their birthright for a pension; and whose censures, therefore, are the highest honour.

The city of London hath ever been distinguished by being the first community to express its gratitude to government for every instance of true utility, or of honour, pronounced in the state. When the occasion hath been fully afforded, let any one shew, when they have been backward to express their thanks to the administration that hath deserved them. But it is *their* (I had almost said peculiar) honour to refuse the servile drudgery of paying compliments at the expence of their veracity. A recent instance of this their disinterestedness, the public hath observed in their declining to

ote an address, that might serve to CONFIRM FAVOURABLE OPINION, OF THOSE WHO DO NOT DESERVE IT, IN THAT BREAST, HERE UNHAPPILY, IT SEEMS, ALREADY TO HAVE GAINED BUT TOO FATAL A FOUNDATION.

Unanimity and concord are certainly necessary towards improving the advantages of peace to the favour of a nation which owes its greatness to the extension and prosperity of its trade. Nor will it be disputed that the city of London hath at least as great an interest in the national prosperity, and consequently in the measures of government, on which the former must always depend, as any other distinct community in the kingdom. Why then, it may be asked, did not the common council promote an address to his majesty, which is so obvious a means of advancing the harmony of the nation, and consequently of their own interest? The answer is, not because they are wanting in duty to the king, and regard to their own welfare, but because they entertain more just conceptions of these matters than others, who have pursued a contrary conduct; they must have a short sight, indeed, who cannot distinguish between the pretended and the real means of promoting the welfare of his country, as they now present themselves to his observation. *They* are to blame for the consequence who first offended, and still persist to uphold the cause of discord; not they who refuse to connive at the cause till the consequence becomes incurable. His present majesty's

jesty's conspicuous virtues, as they have
 fe vedly gained him the hearts of all his *fa-
 ful* subjects; so it is not strange that *these*
 jects are desirous of rendering him every
 turn of *true* duty and attachment in their po-
 er; and these alone are the principles that
 strain the city of London from presuming
 present to him, *as true*, professions tending
 the praise of some men, who are known to
 undeserving of them. If it had been foretold
 in the year 1715 or 1745, that abettors of a
 bellion in favour of a popish pretender, again
 the illustrious princes who then wielded the
 sceptre of these kingdoms, should in a few
 years become favoured, and even promoted,
 those entrusted with the administration of
 government under any of *their* successors
 would not the future completion of such a pre-
 diction have been looked upon as one of the
 greatest evils that could befall any prince in-
 riting the British throne on revolution prin-
 ciples? principles, which, from nature and
 from education, have ever been exploded
 and are incompatible with, the political cre-
 of every adherent to the house of *Stuart*. For
 how can such adherents reconcile their preten-
 ed attachment to his present majesty, with the
 notions of the hereditary, indefeasible right
 kings, which have ever been cherished
 them, even to such a degree as to induce them
 to countenance the banners of rebellion against
 the predecessors of a prince, who holds his
 power contrary to the sentiments which they
 have always discovered, and for whom, there-

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fore, it is impossible (according to their known
 principles) they can entertain a true attach-
 ment. Can the Ethiopian change his skin?--
 no, but he may discolour it. For what end
 should he do the latter; but that thereby he
 may the more effectually attain the primary
 object of his pursuit? Would not any of these
 men pretend it an high affront to their honour;
 should any one impute it to them that they
 were time-servers, and did not act from prin-
 ciple? certainly they would. Every one
 knows what were their principles in the year
 1745; let it be shewn then, by what miracu-
 lous power those principles have been so sud-
 denly altered as to fit them for public stations
 in the year 1763, for which they proved them-
 selves so very unfit at the former period. But
 if, for the scourge of these kingdoms, men of
 principles so alarming to its security, should at
 any future time be found possessed of the means
 to approach the throne, should artfully join
 with others, who may be so far intoxicated by
 the lust of power, and the means of gratifying
 it, as even to sacrifice to their own bound-
 less ambition the popularity of an amiable so-
 vereign, who by their artful united endeavours
 might be deprived of the council of his true
 and *natural* friends, driven, perhaps from his
 presence, for refusing to concur in deceiving
 him; I say, should this kingdom ever happen
 to fall into circumstances so alarming, who
 that was really zealous for its welfare, the
 happiness of his prince, and that of posterity,
 would not refuse to concur in any attempt that

such ministers might set on foot for their own convenience, and to conceal from their master the knowledge of his danger? If ever such an occasion should be offered of testifying true affection and loyalty from a subject to a sovereign, *his* will certainly be the greatest, not who *does* join in a specious address, to continue an imposition on his prince; but *his* who takes the best means in his power to convey the knowledge of truth to the throne. And this the common council of London, in such circumstances, would not have it more effectually in their power to perform, than by observing a silence in respect to measures which they could not conscientiously commend.

These are the suggestions of common sense and common honesty, as they appear to the apprehension of a private individual, who neither is, nor desires to be known by, or connected with, the great; but who is a firm friend to that glorious revolution, to which we are indebted for the blessings derived from the succession of the illustrious house of Hanover to the throne of these kingdoms, who is zealous for the continuance of those blessings to our latest posterity; but who firmly believes they must either be continued to us upon the same principles as those by which they were at first introduced, or that they will not, they cannot in the nature of things, be long continued to us at all.

PRO REGE ET PRO PATRIA.

L E T

L E T T E R XXXIV.

[Besides the court of common council of the city of London, the gentlemen of York and Surry also refused to flatter the ministry with addresses on the peace. The proceedings at each place, it may not be improper to insert here, as memorable examples of the spirit and virtue of a few, in opposing the efforts of a weak and corrupt administration.]

Extract of a letter from York, July 22

"I GOT here time enough to hear the judge's charge to the grand jury; the baron, who gave it, dwelt long on the advantages the subjects would reap from his majesty's making the judges independent of the crown; yet, says he, all this will be to little purpose if ambition possesses their minds, for there are gradations in those places which will remain to the crown. This charge communicated a secret pleasure to me, which can only be felt by an Englishman that knows how to value the lives and property of his fellow subjects. So far the baron acted within his proper sphere: but when he began to lay aside the law, and enter upon politicks, I was displeased for the event; for I plainly perceived he was deviating from that charming rule of independency which appeared in the former part of his charge, by recommending to the grand jury an address upon the peace; and that a jury of gentlemen, of the best fortune and education in this opulent country, were

indubitably as good judges of as his lordship without any reflection to his judgment as a lawyer. The consequence of this speech was an advertisement in the public papers, for a meeting, which was held at a public house in this city, to address his majesty on the peace. Do not be surprized when I tell you, this meeting did not consist of more than 20 gentlemen, including the high sheriff; one of the gentlemen indeed moved for a committee, small as the number was, to prepare and address; but another gentleman desiring the previous question might be put, it was carried in the negative; so that there will be no address from this county. This shews, at least, that this large and opulent county is not to be influenced by the power and weight of any great man, as one or more counties to the northward have already been, and one proof among many others, that the larger and richer a county is, liberty inhabits there with so much the greater security."

L E T T E R XXXV.

Copy of the resolution agreed to at a numerous meeting of the gentlemen, clergy and freeholders of the county of Surrey, summoned to meet at Croydon, on Thursday, July 28, 1763, to consider of an address to his majesty on the peace; and thanks to the members of the county for their conduct in parliament.

R E S O L V E D,

‘ **T** H A T the thanks of this county be given to George Onslow, esq; and
Francis

Francis Vincent, bart. our worthy representatives, for their free and disinterested conduct in parliament; for the opposition they gave to the vote of approbation of the late preliminary articles of peace; and for the spirited efforts they made against the act of the last session of parliament, laying a duty on cyder and perry, and subjecting private families to visitation of excise officers, contrary to the fundamental principles of liberty, and earnestly recommending an exertion of the same spirit towards obtaining a repeal of the said law, not doubting but they will use their utmost endeavours to preserve inviolate the dignity of the crown, and the privileges of parliament, on which the liberty of the subject so essentially depends.'

The above resolution was moved with great clearness and ability by Joseph Mawbey, esq; the worthy representative of the Borough of Southwark, and in a manner that procured him the general applause from the whole company. He was seconded by Humphrey Cotes, esq; and strongly supported by lord viscount Middleton, who hinted at the infamous insinuations which had been thrown out against those who have thought fit to oppose the present administration, as if their opposition to the ministers shewed any want of that zeal and affection to his majesty's person, which he with great truth observed were the characteristic of that party, which will always act upon the same principle, let their

situation be what it will. After which mr. Onslow made the following speech:

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ Nothing could so much add to the happiness and honour which you bestowed upon me, when you chose me your representative, as the joy and satisfaction I now receive in this public testimony of my countrymens approbation of my behaviour in the place where you sent me, and where the sentiments of my constituents have, and ever shall be, a principal and leading rule of my conduct.

‘ That they should be so was my fixed determination from the first moment of my entering into your service; and I made you the most solemn assurances, that I would always abide by that determination, and that I endeavoured to do so in the strictest manner during the last session of parliament particularly, is what I reflect on with the greatest comfort. What you have just now done, I look upon as a proof of my having succeeded in those endeavours, and as the noblest reward I could receive; a reward in my estimation greatly enhanced by the reflection which naturally attend it, that it is bestowed upon me for the same behaviour that brought down ministerial vengeance upon me for voting in parliament agreeable to my conscience; for that alone I was dismissed from the employments I had the honour of bearing under his majesty; for that I am now receiving the

applause

applause of the county of Surry. Great as the honour was to me of being immediately in the service of a sovereign I love and honour, and to whom no man in England is more zealously dutiful and conscientiously attached and devoted than myself; yet the being deprived even of such an honour, for such a cause, and by such men, can never be matter of regret to me, when the same conduct makes me in any degree acceptable to you. I will trouble you with no more, than to repeat my assurances, that I will continue to act upon the same principles I set out with, and was bred up in, and which seem so acceptable to you.

‘ They will naturally lead me into a strict compliance with what you have particularly recommended; in which, as well as in every thing else, your requests will always be commands to me.’

There were present most of the gentlemen rank and fortune in the county, to the number of near four hundred, and on holding hands there appeared only one person (mr. George Amyand, who had a considerable share in the late ever-memorable loan) against the resolution.

A motion was made by a gentleman present for an address to his majesty on the peace: which, after a considerable interval, no other person appearing to support it, was at length opposed by the high sheriff; but being manifestly against the general sense of the county it was dropped.

The

The gentlemen afterwards dined with the grand jury, where the following loyal and constitutional toasts were drank.

The king and the royal family.

Peace and unanimity to the county of Surrey.

The high sheriff and grand jury.

The lord lieutenant.

The members of the county.

The judges of assize.

A safe and happy delivery to the queen.

The glorious and immortal memory of king William.

Confusion to the enemies of George the third.

To the immortal memory of George the second.

Success to the Whigs and the minority in parliament.

May all juries be as honest as the late London juries.

The common-council, and that part of the city of London who refused to flatter the ministry with an address on the peace.

May all judges have the integrity, ability, spirit, and wisdom of lord chief justice Pratt.

The late speaker as father of the county and friend to his country.

The duke of Newcastle and mr. Pitt.

Duke of Devonshire.

Duke of Bolton.

Duke of Grafton.

Duke of Portland.

Marquis of Rockingham.

Lord Hardwicke.

Lord Temple.

Lord Cornwallis.

Lord Ashburnham.

Lord Dartmouth.

That the finances of this county may soon be in the hands of, and their credit saved by Mr. Legge.

Mr. Wilkes.

LETTER XXXVI.

[Such a victory as this could not but be very galling to the ministry, who could not from the county of Surry procure that incense, which they had snuffed very graciously from others; therefore it is no wonder their tools should be immediately set to work to abuse these *Surry insurgents*: but of the wretched stuff with which they offended the public, we shall only select one piece, and we do that merely on account of the answer.]

THO' it could not but give me great satisfaction, who am a freeholder of Surry, to hear the motion made at the late meeting at Croydon, with that clearness and ability for which Mr. Mawbey is so remarkable, and seconded by a gentleman of such extensive landed property as Mr. Cotes, yet I own it checked me a good deal, to find a solemn act of the legislature filed, *contrary to the fundamental principles of liberty*. This resolution was principally supported by one, whose father I am sure taught him more respect for parliaments, than to talk thus of their proceedings:

one

one should have hoped that a gentleman, zealously, dutifully, and conscientiously attached and devoted to the k —, as he professes himself, would not have concurred in treating so indecently an act passed by the k —; but perhaps against next winter he may think differently. But let him think as he will, for I am, that any act, passed by the representatives of the kingdom, by the peers and the k —, deserves no such language as the *Surry* resolution have thought proper to give it.

A SURRY FREEHOLDER.

LETTER XXXVII.

AFTER so many excellent letters shewing that the measures taken by the government, are not the measures of the k —, though he may have been advised to approve of them; and that he consequently is exempted from whatever blame those measures may deserve; I did not expect any ministerial tool would again have presumed to draw in the sacred person of his f — — n. Yet to the amazement of all men of common sense, the writers (scribblers I should call them) in department of the ministry, are daily imposing upon their most unpardonable effrontery. One of these is he I believe who signs himself a *Surry* freeholder. He says “one should have hoped that a gentleman, &c. (meaning mr. O —) would not have concurred in *treating so indecently an act passed by the k — —*.” I cannot help saying, that my indignation rises at seeing these tools of state thus exerting their despotic

abilities to make the sacred person of their
—n subservient to their own security; at
ir thus impudently drawing in m—y to
een the ministry: at their thus saddling a
me upon him, which justly and constitution-
ly, belongs to them *only*. Is it indecent to
the excise is contrary to the fundamental
principles of liberty," for those are the words
which are styled *indecent*? Is there an English-
man (who has not *sold* himself to the present
ministry) that thinks them not indecent? or is
there an Englishman that hesitates to call the
act of excise an *arbitrary* and *wicked* inva-
sion of our constitutional liberties? And when
he says so, he casts no reflection upon his f—n;
does he mean to do it; but throws the
blame where it rightly is, and ever will be,
on the *ministry*. All lovers of liberty and the
British constitution, make this distinction:
it was ever the doctrine of the Tories, and
of their abettors of tyranny, to confound the
name of their f——n with themselves,
in order to put a gag into the mouths of the
people, who are not to speak against any mea-
sures taken by the government, they being the
measures of the king.

A friend to LIBERTY

LETTER XXXVIII.

Some ministerial tool having expres-
sed in one of the papers his, or rather his
master's disapprobation at mr. Wilkes's health
being drunk by the gentlemen of Surry, the
following letter appeared in answer.]

I

I CAN safely answer for many hundred who have, in my hearing, drank to Wilkes's health, as a real friend to those principles which seated his majesty's family on this throne, and will in the end prove themselves to be so, against the mischiefs which this administration are planting on his forehead; and I deny that the majority of the people think as this tool does of the paper for which mr. Wilkes sell such a facience. the violent and malevolent, arbitrary disposition of the ministry we are now *blessed* with for I believe the true sensible intent of a paper was (and party prejudice alone and ministerial prostitution can suggest otherwise) expose the falshood and most dangerous principles of a set of men, whom no honest man holds *sacred*. This evidently appears to have been the intent of the paper, and this is a notion of it, which every day prevails. It is a nonsensical notion, and impudent one, it's containing any personal reflection on his majesty, whom every Englishman esteems loses ground as fast. I dare say, the gentleman who pretends to be so enraged at Wilkes's health being drank, only takes opportunity of venting his rage at reading other constitutional toasts which were drank at the same time with mr. Wilkes; and perhaps is the very man who objected so strenuously to the rope-makers of Southwark, I surmise from an old grudge he bears that trade their getting so much employment in the years 15 and 45.

A SURRY WITNESS
L E

LETTER XXXIX.

ON the 6th of July the king's messengers were brought to trial before lord chief justice Pratt, at Guildhall in London, for unlawfully seizing several journeymen printers, who were *suspected* (for it could be nothing more) of being concerned in printing the 45th number of the North-Briton. The points contended for on the part of the crown were,

1. *The legality of the warrant.*
2. *The due execution of that warrant.*
3. *Two acts of parliament of James I. and one of George II. in the nature of a bar to the action against the defendants, the Messengers; and sending the plaintiffs over for remedy against the secretaries of state. — And the council for the crown insisted, that the Juries should find a Special Verdict.*

The Jury insisted on their right to find a GENERAL VERDICT, under the direction of the court.

The chief justice gave his opinion that the Jury could not be compelled to find a Special Verdict: and likewise his judgment on the reasons of it, on the three points of law, viz.

1. *That the warrant was illegal.*
2. *That it was illegally executed.*
3. *That the secretaries of state were not within the acts of parliament of James I. or George II. and consequently that the action will lay against the messengers.*

The council for the crown tendered a *bill of exceptions against the opinions of the lord chief*

justice on the points of law, ready engrossed but which contain'd so many *impertinent narrations*, and *false states of facts*, &c. That after many erasures and altercations, it was agreed, that as it could not be admitted in its then form, it should be settled with the inspection of the council for the plaintiff.

The chief justice summed up the evidence and left the damages to the Jury; who brought in a verdict against the Messengers with 300*l*. and costs.

JURYMENS NAMES, who thus bravely and honourably distinguished themselves, in the cause of liberty and Englishmen.

Peter Cazalet, Fore-	John Weskett
man	Joseph Mico
Richard King	James Randall
William Bond	Frederick Teush
Thomas Dickins	Peter Deschamps
Thomas Selwin	Benjamin Watkinson
John Daniel Cottin	

May all future juries act with the same intrepidity and impartial spirit, and may there never be wanting an ENGLISH judge who will bear with patience, and decide with candour.

LETTER XL.

THE cause will ever be *best* served, which its advocates maintain with candour, and rest its support on the basis of sound reason and argument, *rather* than upon the chicanery of law, and those mean subterfuges which the crafts of counsel have devised, in order to

coun-

counteract the fair and equal administration of justice. The late proceedings at Guildhall, upon the trial of the messengers, are a convincing proof of the truth of this axiom. After all the points, both of law and fact, which were in *debate*, had been clearly and learnedly argued on both sides, and *that* shining ornament of the present age, *Lord Chief Justice Pratt*, had in consequence of these pleadings given *his* opinion in the most impartial and perspicuous manner, a bill of exceptions, to his decision, was then tendered, which appeared to be fairly engrossed on two skins of parchment, consequently had been brought into court before the commencement of the trial, and afforded a convincing proof, that a resolution was previously taken to object to the opinion of the judge, and the verdict of the jury, even before it *could* be known what *that* opinion, or what *that* verdict, might be. The defendants counsel also shewed their want of candour, by their endeavours to intimidate the jury, to bring *in* their verdict *special*, which did not pass unnoticed; however, THEY WERE RENDERED INEFFECTUAL, BY THE STEADY PERSISTENCE WITH WHICH THESE WELLS WORTHY ENGLISHMEN SUPPORTED THEIR UNDOUBTED RIGHT OF FINDING A GENERAL VERDICT, ACCORDING TO THEIR CONSCIENCES, AND THE OATH THEY HAD TAKEN. A conduct which will render this unbiassed jury deservedly dear to every true Englishman. I appeal to every impartial spectator, whether the defendants coun-

self did not, in the whole of their proceedings, on that memorable day, by their apparent want of candour, prejudice the cause which they meant to support.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

LETTER XLI.

*Justum et tenacem proposui virum, non voluisse
flantis tyranni mentis quatit solida.*

WHEN a nation once loses its regard to justice; when they do not look upon it as something venerable, holy, and inviolable when any of them dare presume to lessen affront, or terrify those who have the distribution of it in their hands; when a judge is capable of being influenced by any thing but law or a cause may be recommended by any thing that is foreign to its merits, we may venture to pronounce that such a nation is hastening to its ruin.

For this reason the best law that has ever passed in our days, is that which secures our judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithstanding the demise of the crown; and which establishes the salaries during the continuance of their commissions.

His majesty, in his speech to the parliament on the above occasion, was pleased to declare that he looked upon the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land, as essential to the impartial administration of justice; as one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of his loving subjects; and as most conducive to the

honour

honour of the crown. I dare say, the extraordinary person who is now posted in one of the *chief* stations of the law, would have been the same if that act had never passed : but it is a great satisfaction to all honest men, that while we see the greatest ornament of the profession in one of its highest posts, we are sure he cannot hurt himself by that assiduous, regular, and impartial administration of justice, for which he is so universally celebrated by the whole kingdom ; such men are to be reckoned among the greatest national blessings, and should have the honour paid them whilst they are yet living, which will not fail to crown their memory when dead.

I always rejoice when I see a tribunal filled with a man of an upright and inflexible temper, who, in the execution of *his* country's laws, can overcome all private fear, resentment, solicitation, and even pity itself ; whatever passion enters into a sentence, or decision, so far will there be in it a tincture of injustice : in short, *justice* discards party, friendship, and is therefore always represented as blind, that we may suppose her thoughts are wholly intent on the equity of a cause, without being diverted or prejudiced by the objects foreign to it.

BY BIRTH AN HEREDITARY GUARDIAN
OF THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF
THE PEOPLE.

L E T T E R XLII.

As the public treasury must undoubtedly defray the expence of the law-suits, and

pay the damages incurred by a late proceeding, which nothing but the insolence of office, and a tyrannical exertion of lawless power could have dictated to the two secretaries, I think the public have a right to speak their sentiments on that transaction, and the late decision relating to it.

What is become of the antient British spirit and that ardent love of liberty, which formerly animated our brave ancestors to shew a proper resentment against those, however great and dignified, who durst trample on the immunities and privileges of a free people? I am confident, that if this illegal and daring step had been taken some years ago, it would have been followed with the warmest remonstrances to the representatives of the people by their constituents, to require their united address to the throne, most humbly to beseech the king to remove from his councils and presence forever, the men who had been guilty of such a flagrant insult on our laws, and on the liberties of their fellow subjects. Their plea of being warranted by precedents ought to be treated with contempt. Are a few precedents of an illegal exertion of arbitrary power to be pleaded in excuse for mens acting in direct contradiction to Magna Charta, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom? I did not know before, that an illegal precedent would authorize a justice of peace to seize and imprison a man contrary to positive and well-known acts of parliament: and they who make such pleas, must have a very mean opinion of the

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understandings of the people in general, or they would be ashamed to publish such apologies. If there have been so many precedents of a lawless exertion of power of late, it is high time they were put a stop to, which I make no doubt but they would have been long before this time, if the poor printers and authors, against whom they were made, had been able to contest it with those who have the public purse at command, which I wish, more than I can hope, they may never make use of to enslave us, in more ways and by more methods than this one: indeed those ways are so well known, that I need only comment on two of the most glaring and notorious, which bid fair to become, and at no very distant period, the ruin of all liberty in this great and powerful nation, which liberty, nothing else, I may safely say, can ever ruin; and therefore they deserve to be written in capitals, and marked on the foreheads of those who sell their votes and their country for them, viz. PLACES and PENSIONS.

L E T T E R XLIII.

THOUGH I am going down the hill of life to the land where all things are forgotten, and have none to stand up in my place, and therefore personally have but little concern in it; yet from the love I bear to mankind in general, and to my fellow countrymen in particular, I felt a joy beyond the power of kings to give, or of any thing to excite, except an ardent love of liberty, when

when I received the news of the important determination, in regard to the security of the people, at Guildhall, on the from hence-forwards ever memorable fifth of July; for no age has produced a determination of more general and extensive consequence to every free-born Englishman. The united thanks of the whole people are justly due to the gentlemen of the jury, who with such invincible resolution refused to find a special verdict, being determined to decide a point so essential to the security of their fellow-countrymen, and not to delegate upon any pretence, that power which the constitution had fixed in them alone, as a jury on the cause. They will live in the hearts of the people of the present generation, and the blessing of posterity will come upon them. What are the honours which adorn the most triumphant victor's brow, what the advantage of his most glaring victories, in comparison of the honour these gentlemen have gained to themselves, and the security arising to the people, from their constitutional and unbiaſſed verdict? I have conceived a love for the king from his youth up, and felt a joy on seeing him ascend the throne, which perhaps none of his adulating addressers, nor any of the vehemently loyal writers, ever had any sensation of; and yet I should neither fear nor blush to say before him, that I have a still higher affection for the whole collective body of the people. Nature, reason, religion, and the constitution

will

will all justify me in saying this; and from the high opinion I have entertained of his virtues and goodness, I should think even his majesty himself would applaud it. And it may well be supposed, that as his majesty is, according to the expressions that have been made use of in the public papers, a friend to freedom from sentiment, he must feel no small pleasure from seeing the freedom of his subjects receive an additional security in his reign, which may secure them from the oppression and tyrannical power of any who may come after him, and who may chance not to have that moderation and mildness, that love of justice and regard for his people which he has. I have read of a king or governor, who, upon something of a similar occasion, thanked Heaven that he saw his subjects freedom perfected. Kings can never be hurt by the freedom of their subjects, because the more freedom they have, the more they will love their kings, as freedom is innately considered by all mankind as the greatest blessing; and government will be more effectual, as the obedience is more voluntary; and there is no fear of its degenerating into tyranny. Nor is there perhaps one single instance in all history of a people falling in their duty and regard to their king from their enjoyments of freedom, but many, very many fatal ones of their doing so, from its being infringed. On the contrary, the people may, nay, they certainly will, one way or other be greatly hurt by power

power being left unrestrained. The history of every nation testifies this, alas! too much. I will give only one instance out of our own history, and not far beyond our memory. The rev. dr. Leighton, in king Charles the first's time, having published a book called 'Zion's Plea against prelacy,' he was soon after, without any information upon oath, or any proof that he was the writer of the book, arrested by two high commission pursuivants, as he was coming out of Black-Friar's church from hearing a sermon, and with a multitude of staves and bills they dragged him to the house of dr. Laud, then the bishop of London. In the bishop of London's house he was imprisoned, and a strong guard set over him; there he was kept without food till seven in the evening, when dr. Laud and dr. Corbet, bishop of Oxford, came with a great number of attendants. Dr. Leighton then demanded a hearing; but instead of that the goaler of Newgate was sent for, who came with a strong power of halberts and staves, and clapping dr. Leighton in irons, they carried him through a blind subterraneous passage into Newgate, where they thrust him into a lonesome doghole full of rats and mice, which had no light, but what came through a little grate. There, the roof being uncovered, the snow and rain beat in upon him. He had no bedding, nor any place to make a fire, but the ruins of an old smoky chimney. There he was kept without meat or

drink

ink from Tuesday night to Thursday noon.
 that doleful place and condition was he
 pt cloie, with two doors fastened upon
 m, for the space of 15 weeks. And so
 ng they suffered no friend to come near
 m. But after 15 weeks, his wife, and she
 one, gained admittance. On the fourth
 y after his commitment, the high com-
 mission pursuivants went to his house, under
 etence of searching for Jesuits books.
 here, these sons of plunder, laid hold of
 distressed wife, and used her with such
 barbarous inhumanity and indecency, as it
 a shame to express. They rifled every
 son in the house, and held a pistol to the
 chest of a boy of five years of age, threaten-
 ing to shoot him, if he would not tell where
 books were, which so affrighted the poor
 child, that he never recovered it all his
 days. They broke open presses, chests and
 boxes, and destroyed every thing at pleasure.
 They robbed the doctor's house and carried
 all the books and manuscripts they could
 find. They likewise carried away his hous-
 hold stuff, apparel, and other things, leaving
 nothing which they had a mind to have.
 At the end of 15 weeks, or something more,
 he was brought into the star chamber court,
 required to put in an answer to a long
 interrogative, called an information; which he
 did to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced
 persons. He owned the writing the book,
 and said that it was done with no ill inten-
 tion; his design being only to lay these
 things

things before the next parliament, for the consideration. Things were carried with high an hand, that no council dared to plead for him, nor any body to appear in his behalf. It is supposed upon good grounds that poison was given to him in Newgate for his hair and his skin came off in a disorder, which was attended with loathsome symptoms. But notwithstanding a certificate was given under the hand of four physicians and an affidavit made by an attorney, that his disease was desperate, and it was unfit to bring him into court; yet nothing would serve bishop Laud, but in the midst of this desperate disorder, and great distress, the following sentence was passed upon him though absent; and that court unanimously decreed, June 4, 1630, 'That dr. Laud should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of 10,000 (though they knew he was not worth so much) that the high commission should degrade him from his ministry, and that he should be brought to the pillory at Westminister, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, he should be upon the pillory, and have one of his nostrils cut off, one side of his nose slit, and branded in the face; that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days, be pilloried again in Cheapside, be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in

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prison for the remainder of his life.' Bishop Laud pulled off his cap when this horrible sentence was pronounced, and gave God thanks for it.

Nov. 26, part of the sentence was executed upon him, and that in a most tremendous manner, the hangman having been filled with strong drink all the night before, and likewise threatened if he did not execute the sentence in a cruel manner. When he came to the place of execution, besides other torments, his hands were tied to a stake, where he received 36 stripes on his naked back with a triple cord, every lash whereof brought away the flesh. Then he was set in the pillory, in which he stood almost two hours in cold frost and snow. While he was in the pillory, one of his ears was cut off, one of his nostrills slit, and one cheek branded with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. (Sower of sedition.) After that, he was commanded to prison; and the next cruel handling of him, we may take in the words of bishop Laud, who hath recorded it in his diary, as well as the foregoing treatment. On that day sen'night his sores upon his back, ears, nose, and face, being not yet cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside; and had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek.' Being in this terrible suffering rendered unable to talk, they would not suffer him to be carried

back to the Fleet in a coach, but hurried him away by water. In the Fleet he went through much harsh and cruel usage for the space of eight years; so that when he was afterwards released from it by the parliament, he could hardly walk, see, or hear. This, not to mention many other instances, which might be brought, may shew how very jealous the people ought to be, and how absolutely necessary it is, that they should preserve unviolated in any shape whatever, that security of their persons and property, which they have a right to by Magna Charta, that no freeman may be apprehended or imprisoned nor sentence passed upon him, 'but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.' If apprehensions and imprisonments once come to be practiced in any other way than by the law of the land and any other trial allowed of but by juries, giving their own verdict, as they ought to do, and not what is called a special verdict, every man will be subject to the like illegal imprisonment and inhuman treatment as the unhappy dr. Leighton experienced. The very thought of it shudders one's blood and is sufficient to keep awake every Englishman to preserve that inestimable privilege of 'no apprehension and commitment but by the law of the land,' and 'of no trial but by jury,' or 'the lawful judgment of our peers.' Which God grant may be secured to our very latest posterity.

A LOVER OF LIBERTY

L E T

L E T T E R XLIV.

Considering how many lies are vented every week by the Hawkers of the ministry, it is surprizing that they cannot treat the public with some variety. The town begins to regret the Auditor and Briton, who, if they surpassed all scriblers in impudence and infamy, at least put as much novelty into their papers, as they did into matters of fact. They not only invented, but invented fresh and fresh. The present set are errant cheats, and make the ministers pay for the same lies over and over again. The lie most in vogue with them, is an approaching coalition of parties: an event they and their masters want, and doubtless wish to see, but as far from happening, as any good to this country, while affairs are in such incapable hands.

Few words will shew the impossibility of such a coalition. Can men, who have saved their country and raised its reputation to a height unknown in story, coalesce with those who have sacrificed all this glory, have restored our conquests to the same aspiring and croaching enemy, and who have given back much of what was purchased by the blood of the valiant, and the treasures of the impoverished? Can they, who reduced France to sue for peace, unite with those who have begged peace of France? Can they, who set back Bussy with scorn, when he dared to present a bullying memorial from Spain, unite with those who would even then have tem-

porized, who have declared for peace on any terms, and who have accepted terms, that are only to be matched by those accepted at Utrecht?

Can great lords, who have been threatened that the peerage should be humbled, who have been treated with insults never practiced towards Jacobites and rebels, who have seen their own and the services of their ancestors forgotten, who have been affronted by a mushroom favourite, of neither English birth nor English abilities; can they unite with the favourite, who began the winter with arrogance and closed it with pusillanimity, and who, having laid a plan for oppressing this country, had almost accomplished his purpose, but being seized with a panick, ran away from his own victory? Or can they unite with men, who condescend to act as deputies for the favourite, and who, for running his risk, are paid with fine-cures and double fine-cures for themselves and for every master and miss of their generation?

Can men, who, for the sake of their country, their conscience, and their honour, have shewn that they would sacrifice their interests, renounce their places, and incur persecution, be so volatile and profligate as in six months to join with the plunderers and persecutors of their countrymen? Has this opposition forgotten the infamy that attended a celebrated earl when he sold his party, and stipulated for a few places for his own dependents?

The opposition is formed of men of the best characters, of the most exalted abilities,

the highest birth, of the most unquestionable morals. With whom is it proposed they should unite? With peace brokers, money-jobbers, gamesters; with the favourite's substitutes, Scotch poets, and out-lawed Jacobites; with the tools that L—d H— left in place, or the tools that left his l—d—p in the lurch?

The opposition will continue opposition till the state is cleared of these men. The gentlemen in the opposition are sensible that they could perform no service to their country, if leagued with and checked by such men. They know they should forfeit all pretensions to integrity, if they entered into alliance with them; and the first motive to forming any opposition at all, was to rid the government of those who have disgraced and impoverished

M A N Y.

LETTER XLV.

IN answer to MANY, I would observe, that the report of the coalition seems to have taken its rise, not from the advocates of the ministry, but from that set of men, who despairing of the success of their utmost efforts in an opposition to government, have taken that method to insinuate their wishes to be taken in. One of the chief leaders of that party hath frequently declared, that the powers of his mind lay chiefly in the direction of the war. This is an invincible argument against his guiding in time of peace; and indeed he was so sensible of this himself, that in 1761 he determined not to make any peace.

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Was it for fear he should become less necessary? But who are meant by those who have made those great sacrifices for the sake of their country? For my own part, I see very few among the opposition but have been either the parents of corruption, or are very willing to become the sons of it.

The MORE

LETTER XLVI.

FROM the advocates of the ministry no truth is to be expected: they could not be its advocates if they did speak truth: but they cannot even argue; their logic is as bad as their cause.

In the letter signed THE MORE, it is said that the report of a coalition seems to have taken its rise from the opposition. Why does it seem so? By their taking every step to disavow it? Who want a coalition most, men of neither credit nor abilities, whose chiefs have flunk out of office in the most cowardly manner, on the first appearance of a storm and who have left this *forlorn hope* to stand the gap, to parley, traffic, and treat; or the men who carried on the affairs of this country with the most glorious success and unanimity, and with the approbation and love of their countrymen? Can these men want a coalition with the refuse of lord B——'s and lord H——'s administration?

The next silly argument is, that one of the leaders of the opposition hath frequently declared that the powers of his mind lay chief

in the direction of the war. Whatever he has declared [probably never what is here asserted] he certainly did not express himself in such foolish terms. But your correspondent is so absurd as to call this an invincible argument against his guiding in time of peace. What invincible dullness! a minister shines in the most difficult season of government: *ergo*, says this reasoner, he is unfit for the less difficult. Admirable! But lower this great man's abilities; rate him very low in peace; suppose him as deficient in any one walk as it is possible for a man of his genius to be; still he must be infinitely superior to any man employed at present. Compare them severally with him, and even **THE MORE**, who are so well paid for being **THE MORE**, will not be able to help laughing.

Lastly, to answer the question at the end of that silly letter. The most disinterested and unblemished names in this country have sacrificed places, profits, honours, views, all to the love of their country, and to the indignation at seeing the glorious successes of the war given up to ensure the power of an incapable favourite. Some of these names are, the duke of Devonshire, lord George Cavendish, earl of Besborough, marquis of Rockingham, duke of Bolton, colonel Fitzroy, mr. Thomas Townshend, mr. Onslow, earl of Ashburnham, earl of Lincoln, mr. Pitt, and earl Temple. We defy **THE MORE** to point out any meanness, any love of lucre, any corruption of any sort in one of these illustrious

lustrious personages. THE MORE may throw dirt, but none of it will stick.

M A N Y.

P. S. MESSIEURS MORE,

The next time you are going to be vain of being the THE MORE, please to recollect how many of you last October declared yourselves of the same opinion with us THE MANY. As we had the same offers, and were invited to the same pay office, we know pretty well *what* occasioned the change in your sentiments. As 25000 l. issued in one day in bank notes of 100 l. each, had not the same effect on us that they had on you, we had rather be the virtuous FEW than the corrupted MORE. In the mean time, we are preparing for the public an account of your several *private* reasons for the part you have taken.

L E T T E R XLVH.

MANY and vile have been the attempts of venal pens to hurt the present administration in the eyes of the world, but none more low, impudent, and false, than that of your correspondent MANY. What the motives of MANY may have been for this shabby attack upon established characters is too dark for me to determine; but by the twang of his epistle it is fully evident, that he has paid deference neither to truth, honour, or common-sense. If he thought to serve any party by his impudent and unconscionable falsehood, I would fain hope he is entirely mistaken; for I will venture to assure him, that such venomous

short-

short-lived squibs at those in power are apt to burst in the faces of their opponents.

I can discover no merit in MANY's stile, or sentiments, worthy the honour of a reply: my only motive, therefore, for giving you this trouble is, to confute his attempt to propagate the spirit of party, and, if possible, to prevent any palpable falshood of their nature, which might hereafter appear from his or any other hand. Before I enter upon the stage of MANY's letter, it will be necessary to recommend an impartial perusal of it to my readers, as they would then be able themselves to detect his falshoods and inconsistencies, and at the same time determine the justice of my animadversions. The first paragraph of this elaborate epistle merits no further comment than that it is a rhapsody of unconnected stuff, bundled together with the nicest stupidity, aimed at purposes scarce worthy a repetition, without the least spirit or humour, a disgrace to penmanship and good principles. I can scarce keep my humour at the succeeding part of his letter; if I should use him a little too roughly, I hope he will excuse me, having produced a sufficient subject for a satirical turn to work upon. I am so charmed with the elegance, justice, and propriety of his sentiments, that if it was not a trespass upon your good nature, I should certainly quote the whole of his letter. Our humorous perfumist goes on thus: " Few words will shew the impossibility of such a coalition. Can men who have saved their country, and raised its reputation to a height

height unknown in story, coalesce with those who have sacrificed all this glory, who have restored our conquests to the same aspiring incroaching foe, and who have given back so much of what was purchased by the blood of the valiant, and the treasures of the impoverished? Can they who have reduced France to beg for peace unite with those who have begged peace of France? Can they who sent back Bussy with scorn, when he dared to present a bullying memorial from Spain, unite with those who would have temporized, who have declared for peace on any terms, and accepted terms that are only to be matched by those at Utrecht? Can great lords, who have been threatened that the peerage should be humbled, who have been treated with insults never practised towards Jacobites and Rebels, who have seen their own and the services of their ancestors forgotten, who have been affronted by a mushroom favourite, of neither English birth nor English abilities? Can they unite with that favourite who began the winter with arrogance, and closed it with pusillanimity, and who, having laid a plan for oppressing this country, had almost accomplished his purpose but being seized with a panic, ran away from his own victory? Or can they unite with men who condescend to act as deputies for the favourite, and who, for running his risque, are paid with *sine cures*, and double *sine cures*, for themselves, and every master and mis of their generation." O blind incendiary! whoever thou art, prostrate thyself at the feet of justice

down that thou hast offended: lament thy
 folly and extravagance, and say with
 every honest man, that our most im-
 portant conquests are still retained, and the
 price thou so much revilest is the most advan-
 geous that could have been effected for a
 rising nation. Thou wilt perhaps alledge,
 that another year's war would have brought
 the enemy to our terms; but consider the ad-
 ditional expence thereof to the national debt,
 and reflect upon the fluctuating issues of for-
 tune: these, I persuade myself, will bring
 thee to a right mind, if any grains of reflection
 remain to enforce them. Can any man re-
 concile such figurative and contradictory ex-
 pressions as your correspondent uses through-
 out the whole of his letter? Upon which I have
 only to observe, that I am at a loss to know
 what he means by the threatened humiliation
 of certain peerages; and cannot credit his as-
 sumption, that the lords in the opposition have
 been insulted by any in the present administra-
 tion, or by the noble favourite he sets forth in
 detestable a light. I would assure him, that
 he labours under an egregious mistake when
 he instances the services of their ancestors;
 I believe few in the opposition can make
 merit of that; as to their own services,
 they are undone by their precipitate retreat
 from the paths of justice and equity. Your
 correspondent observes, that the said noble fa-
 vourite is neither of English birth nor English
 politics; the first is true, and the last a laugh-
 stock. I believe few Englishmen will
 pretend

pretend to assert, that the abilities of other countries are not equal to those of their mother country, and very often excel them. "The favourite (says your correspondent) began the winter with arrogance, and closed it with philanthimity, &c." I leave this matter to be determined by those who have patience to dive into its meaning.

Oh! amazing infatuation! and had almost accomplished his plan, but ran away from his own victory! I must plainly tell MANY, that his plea with regard to sine-cures may in some measure be true; but if former administration were looked into, he would there find sufficient grounds to cheque it by; many of which I could instance, but judge it needless, as the sensible part of your readers undoubtedly know my meaning. Your correspondent's next argument is built upon very weak pillars: he talks of the regard in the opposition to the country, conscience and honour; says, they have sacrificed their interest, renounced their places, and incurred prosecution; and calls the present administration a set of plunderers and persecutors. I readily own some of the opposition have sacrificed their characters as well as their interests, to ambitious and arrogant views, which he can be at no loss to find out; but that they have renounced the places he may be ashamed to say, the contrary being too well known; that they have incurred prosecution is unquestionably true, but what cause had they for incurring prosecution? Surely no argument can defend your correspondent

pondent's absence in this matter, which says very little in favour of his cause, as indeed does all he advances ; but as it is still to be tried, I think it the height of impudence to offer any opinion of the matter. Your correspondent's compliment of plunderers I throw back upon the opposition, not without good reason ; and aver his assertion to be groundless. That the opposition is formed of men of the first characters, I deny: the rank and birth of some of them is unquestionable, but they will always judge of a man's morals by his actions. The present administration here meets with another squib, " with whom is it proposed they should unite (says your correspondent) with peace-brokers, money jobbers, gamesters: with the favourite's substitutes, scotch poets, and out lawed Jacobites?" a most impudent sally of false wit, gendered between malice and envy ; as void of truth as of humour.

" The opposition (says your correspondent) will continue opposition untill the state be cleared of such men." In answer to which I say, the opposition will continue opposition untill all their sinister endeavours to reinstate themselves in power are frustrated.

The impartial part of mankind are sensible, that as the gentlemen in the opposition have no opportunity of being serviceable to their country in public capacities, they are determined to spare no pains in their endeavours to create distrust between the king and his subjects, and to renew prejudices (which ought

never to be heard of) at the expence of duty, decency, and truth. Although your correspondent may be, as he affects to be, blind to the motives for forming an opposition, thank God, the nation in general is of a very different opinion, being too well acquainted with the characters that compose the club not to see the true motives, which are every way opposite to what your correspondent asserts.

Poultry.

HONESTUS.

LETTER XLVIII.

HONESTUS is so very angry, that it is difficult to guess whether his rage destroyed his reasoning faculties, or whether he had none to be destroyed. Railing as often proceeds from emptiness as passion; in the case of Honestus probably from both. We shall but skim his letter, and leave the dirty sediment to the proprietors.

Imprimis, we desire to know whether by *established characters* he means good or bad characters; one should think the latter, for he says it is *shabby to attack them*. The rest of the paragraph being meer Billingsgate, we shall only profess that we are sorry to have vexed Honestus so much, if he is an honest man; glad we have, if he is not. Which ever he is, we advise him to reserve some temper, as he has still much to hear against the present, otherwise late, administration.

Next, he says *he can discover no merit in our stile worthy the honour of a reply*. Answer, we aim at no merit in stile: our business is to

inform

inform our countrymen, and to serve our country. We despise rhetorical flourishes, and confine ourselves to facts and truth; things not to be got the better of by invectives. We cannot help laughing, however, at this assuming judge of style: *shabby attacks, short lived squibs, twang of his epistle*; these are the elegancies of a writer who talks of style! they are such vulgarisms, that we are apt to think he has dropped half the name of the place from whence he has dated his letter, and that instead of the Poultry, it should be the Poultry-compter. A little farther there is a grievous blunder: he says, our letter is *a disgrace to penmanship and good letters*. Is this man so very illiterate, as to mistake *penmanship*, the qualification of a writing master, for the vocation of an author? By the same confusion of language he would call an architect, who in his opinion wanted taste, a bad bricklayer. No, Honestus, we cannot be angry with a man whose folly is so diverting. The ignorance and vanity in your epistle are so solemn, especially when you talk of the honour of a reply, that if the spelling in it was as bad as the English, we should conclude that we owed that honour to the favourite himself; who, though celebrated by the author of *Elvira* and other flatterers for his learning, is well known to be a clerk, as more writings than one under his hand testify. *Persualist* is another new coined word, like Simplex's *Tyre*; both probably out of the same mint. Surely, surely these

men need not make new English; the language ready made to their hands is more than they know how to manage.

We will not trespass on the reader's patience with wading through more of this nonsense: but we heartily lament the ignorance of Honestus, which he so often emphatically pleads; repeating every moment, that he knows nothing of this, does not guess the meaning of that, and yet the things he does not comprehend are notorious to all England. What if another time he should not begin to answer till he understands? If he does understand us, let him be assured that his bare denial of facts, or pleading ignorance, are equally far from answering his purpose. Facts have been stated, shall be stated: all England shall be apprized of them; and *some*, which have not yet been laid before the public, and which will make the ears of Honestus and his patrons tingle, will be produced before the month of January next is elapsed.

In the interim, he may be ignorant, or falsify, or blunder, which ever he pleases, or cannot help. He may pretend to forget the treatment of the D. of D. the language held last winter, and the manacles thrown out of humbling great lords; the irremissible resentment that was threatened to all resigners; he may pretend to think that by prosecution we only hinted at mr. Wilkes, and not at the cruel and ill-natured persecution and proscription of all who opposed the haughty and revengeful favourite: he may deny the plainest facts;

facts; he may assert without the least truth, that few in the opposition can boast the services of their ancestors; he may, like the rest of his crew, give out that places are the only view of the lords and gentlemen in the opposition, though they resigned their places, nay, though every kind of threat and art was used to prevent their resigning. All this he may do, and when he has done, it will be just as if he had done nothing. He can never give parts to his patrons; he can never hurt the characters in the opposition; he can never reconcile this country to arbitrary power; he can never hinder the people from knowing the consequence they are of in a free government; he can never make the nation forget that mr. Pitt raised us from the lowest situation and despair to the highest pitch of glory; he can never persuade mankind that this hero did not sacrifice our conquests to his own views; he can never prove that Martinico and Guadaloupe were barren islands, or Florida a rich province; he can never wipe out the memory of the corruption practiced last winter, or make us forgive the favourite's association with the grand corruptor, in order to cram an ignominious peace down our throats: he can never obliterate the close imprisonment of a member of parliament by the arbitrary mandate of a member of the other house; he can never hinder our remembering that we owe to the North Briton our being delivered from a North British favourite; and he can never reconcile us to the re-admission of that favourite,

favourite, nor even make us easy under the influence and access which that favourite still retains.

M A N Y.

L E T T E R XLIX.

[The scandalous partiality shewn to Scotsmen since lord Bute came either *secretly*, or *openly* into power, was in no instance more manifest than the appointing at one time, about the latter end of July, four Scotsmen to be governors of the acquisitions in America, viz.

Brigadier Murray, governor of Canada

Col. James Grant, of East Florida

George Johnson, of West Florida

Col. Melvill, of Grenada and the Neutral islands.*]

IT cannot be improper to acquaint the people of England, that the four American governors, lately appointed, are all SCOTSMEN. Does not this fully prove the influence of the great men at present behind the curtain?

An HALF PAY *unpaid* OFFICER, who served under Wolfe, Amherst, Monton, and Albemarle, and unfortunately is an *Englishman*.

L E T T E R L.

I am an Englishman, who so far from being prejudiced against the Scots, would bestow on them every reward their merit or long service

* Although these Scotch gentry were appointed in July yet their names were not printed in the London Gazette until October following: a certain proof that the influence of the Scotch *favourite* continued to direct all the actions of his substitutes.

services justly entitles them to; but cannot be hypocphant enough to acquiesce in opinion with their late great chief, that their merit as soldiers, &c. is superiour to that of my own countrymen.

I am a soldier who have had the honour to serve my king and country in the late war, under the command of Amherst, Wolfe, Monckton, and lord Albemarle, at the same time the Scots regiments, and Scots officers in English regiments, served; therefore must be a judge of their behaviour, which I will do them the justice to say was always very gallant, and not inferior to that of the English or Irish.

Having judged impartially of the merit of the Scots and English, which I find upon the whole to be nearly equal; I cannot help declaring myself greatly distressed to find the influence of the former at court prevail so far over the latter, as to obtain almost every military preferment over the heads of English veterans, whose long and faithful services lays their country under so great an obligation to provide for. It is a heart-breaking sight to every Englishman to behold the list of the army, a short perusal of which furnishes so many glaring instances of the gross partiality of the Scot to his countrymen. You may there see the names of men formerly suspected of disloyalty to the house of Hanover; and others, who have not served more than four or five years in England, Ireland, or Scotland, indiscriminately numbered amongst officers commanding English regiments, whose known
valour

valour and long services purchased them those rewards.

Your paper of Monday last gave us an instance of the good fortune of the Scots, I mean the appointments to governments; they were all of that country; it would have given me great pleasure to have seen the name of one Englishman amongst them, but that would have been too a great a favour for an Englishman, as one Scot less must have been provided for.

I would not be thought, by my pointing out this instance, to insinuate the gentlemen, who were lucky enough to obtain those honours, were unworthy of them; quite the contrary: I must do them the justice to say, I believe them to be very worthy; but at the same time do assert, there are of my own countrymen equally worthy, who would have been glad of such a provision, and whose merit is not in the least inferior to that of the Scots gentlemen.

AN ENGLISH VETERAN.

Quere, Whether the abuses which have been the subject of my epistle (if continued) may not contribute more to alienate the affections of his majesty's English subjects, than any thing offered in the North Briton, No. 45.

L E T T E R L I.

THE discontent that has been shewn for some time past at the partiality and insatiable ambition of the Scotch, is strictly justifiable, for experience has undeniably proved that they have practised both whenever they

they had an opportunity to do it : themselves, and every person who has had any connection with them, cannot deny the truth of this assertion.

Far be it from me to condemn them for being kind and benevolent one to another ; it is a duty, it is a virtue which the scripture and reason strictly enjoins ; but they too rigidly observe the letter of it, by not observing the dictates of gratitude for the good things they have received from the English.

It is well known, that from the highest to the lowest of that nation, from those in ministerial power down to the merchants, the tradesmen, and even the most wretched of them, that they make it an invariable rule to give one another the preference in all their transactions. I could expatiate on this subject more fully, and particularize many facts relative thereto, but shall defer it to another opportunity. I shall only then further observe, that since daily experience proves the partiality of the Scotch, the English cannot be too much upon their guard to prevent the consequences that may result from it, which may be more fatal to them than at present they are aware of : and even the Scotch merchants, &c. who are settled here should take the same advice : for it is a notorious truth, that the merchants in Glasgow, in particular, have almost ruined London in one very essential part of its commerce, and that is the Virginia and Maryland, which brings in a great revenue to the crown, and is of very great advantage to the nation : and it is to be feared,

ed, that since the promotion of the four American governors (who are all Scotchmen) that other branches of merchandize will of course fall into the same channel; and this city which was but lately the most flourishing commerce and trade of any in the world dwindle into a kind of subserviency to Glasgow and the Scottish ports.

I have in some measure done my duty to my country by writing this, and doubt not your impartiality by inserting it in your paper 1763. A WELL-WISHER TO ENGLAND

LETTER LII.

EVERY wise man will agree in this opinion, that it must be for the good of every community to have all power and authority lodged in the hands of those who are the most able and meritorious. This I believe the very Jacobite Whigs themselves will not have the assurance to pretend to dispute. It is a point that cannot be disputed: and therefore I shall consider it as a truth universally subscribed to.

Having thus settled this matter, I must take the liberty to suppose, with common consent the next point to be decided is, who of his majesty's subjects are the wisest and most meritorious. These the honourable, judicious and sagacious mr. H. W. has pronounced to be the Scotch. He has said it for the Whigs as his family have long been the very staunchest of their order. The Tories have shewn by their actions it is likewise clearly their opinion: and the Scotch prove it, by their conduct.

at and behaviour, as well as by hourly as-
 suming it with their pens and their tongues.
 Government therefore of right undoubtedly
 belongs to them, and accordingly we see they
 are getting into it apace. Now to my point
 of settling our new colonies, in the wisest and
 best manner. Scotch governors, we see are
 appointed: so that part of the work is accom-
 plished. The next undertaking ought to be
 the finding out of Scotch settlers, to become
 the proprietors of all the lands. When the
 governments and estates are thus disposed of,
 in the best manner, there will remain nothing
 more to do than to provide them with labour-
 ers and slaves. These we shall ourselves be
 more likely to contribute, from the English
 streets and highways, having shewn, that we
 know how to make thieves with very great
 facility: but the greater art of making them
 honest and useful drudges, will remain for
 our wiser Scotch brethren to exemplify, by
 their management of them on their new estates.
 Thus will equity and utility result from good
 management: all parties will have their right
 allotments, and all merits their due rewards.
 Scotland, however, as a sister state, should not
 be forgotten in the distributions of justice;
 she probably will contribute her full share to
 the necessary population. She is said to have
 some thousands of *Hearts of Oak* already pro-
 pared for transplantation. They may be likely
 to be made good vassals to the new American
 Scotch lairds: and if more should be want-
 ing, the best measure for obtaining them will
 be

be to propose the establishment of a land-tax in their country, as that will be a sure measure of procuring any numbers whatever. Rein hard the beast of resistance, say I, and the Scotch also, and you will soon get such command over him, as to make him entirely obedient, and fit for any kind of drudgery.

The sagacious Scotch have long ago said, in your paper as well as in others, and in all their conversations, that there were great and wise measures about soon to be taken, which nothing could prevent being happily carried into execution, but an unseasonable indulgence of a refractory spirit among the English; against which they have not failed, out of their abundant kindness and affection for us, to admonish, entreat, and deplore. They have recommended dutiful acquiescence to us, and enlarged on the benefits of entire union, tho' to say the truth, they were themselves never convinced of them till very lately. Nay, their very loyal addresses have uttered the most moving complaints of our breaches of harmony and cordial union: but blinded and unkind Englishmen will still continue unmanageably wilful, and obstinately perverse.

A LOOKER ON

L E T T E R LIII.

WE have been long told we were to expect wonderful undertakings for the good of the nation, by ministers whose talents and virtues have had many commendations. I own, I have been long full of expectation

seeing

seeing some of the good fruits of those very great promises: but my patience was beginning to exhaust, till I heard of one important step, which I shall presently mention, tho' I cannot but acknowledge even that has not been able to remove all my impatience, or my doubts, that there may be more people than the inhabitants of the county of Surry, who continue to wish for a total change of hands.

We read of assiduous applications among our old enemies, and new friends, to restore the credit and power, and to extend the commerce of their countries; but we hear of no such measures taking at home. Most of our great mens attention hitherto appears to have been bestowed on the means of procuring addresses of approbation of certain measures, which they are never likely to make popular; and indeed, at which most readers of them laugh, while they openly express their contempt of jockeying and partial means used for the obtaining of many of them, which have been too gross even to gloss over imposition. The extravagant loyalty of Scotland and Oxford, with their expressions of detestation and abhorrence of disrespect, serve to awaken remembrance of what they not long ago most practiced themselves; and as men are not apt to change their principles and practices from slight motives, we are led to imagine they have solid ones for what they do; and that the expectations on which they plume themselves, are not like to promise or

promote either the harmony they recommend, or the felicity which they affect to foresee approaching us.

The French and Spaniards appear to have been forwarder in sending out their forces to occupy our late conquests, than we our orders for restoring them. And before we were known to have taken any steps for settling our new colonies, we had the mortification to hear our old ones have been disturbed, and even with insinuated opinions, at the instigation of those with whom we have so lately concluded a peace, on terms so generous on our part, and so advantageous on theirs. This wears an unpromising, let me say a sort of melancholy aspect, which receives no little addition from the disturbancies in Ireland, and our discontents at home. Such as, I am sorry to say, altogether make a kind of allay to the blessings which the wisdom and virtue of our ministers have bestowed upon us.

Indeed we have been told that there are governors appointed for our new colonies, and they are such, as those who consider themselves as his majesty's most loyal and affectionate subjects (from having given so many and such signal proofs of attachment to his august house) must be convinced will act in the settling of those countries with all that impartiality which will give them content. Their trusts will be extensive: and there can no doubt be entertained of their discharging them in a manner that will be worthy of themselves and their country, to which I mov

foresee

foresee they are born to prove unusual blessings: so that I must congratulate the administration on the increase of popularity they will acquire by these appointments, it being a new and extraordinary proof of their uncommon discernment.

A LOOKER ON.

L E T T E R L I V .

THE strongest proofs which can be given of superior talents in our days, are those of mens discovering a due knowledge of, and regard for their own interests, and an unceasing assiduity in the pursuit of them.

In these qualities the Scots surpass all nations upon earth. There is nothing in the way of interest too great for them to aim at: witness two endeavours of late years to bestow on us a king of their own choosing, and to take the government of us into their own hands. But experience having shewn them that open force is not the best instrument they can employ, they have wisely altered their scheme, and at present combine by cunning to establish their domination: and what the sword, even in their valiant hands could not do, they are now endeavouring to effect by policy; tho' what they hope to obtain by cunning, they doubtless mean to secure by force.

The most refined policy of late ages has been that of the Jesuits; which was founded upon general correspondence and combination; so that they have every where always moved, in bodies or as individuals, by one general

general direction; or rather have acted upon one fixed principle, which is that of pursuing the common interest and power of their order, in that of every individual member of it.

Two Scotsmen meeting together, like two Jesuits, two Free-masons, or two Footmen, tho' they never saw each other before, immediately converse without reserve, from their having a common interest to pursue, and a common knowledge of their craft. Good fellowship is apparently the tie of the Free masons; but that of the others is apparently mere interest. They have each a common enemy to circumvent and over-reach. That of the Knights of the Rainbow, is masters and mistresses; that of the Scots is their fellow subjects; and that of the Jesuits all mankind. Against these respectively, they are respectively in conspiracy; and common interest alike respectively unites them in an invariable combination.

It is sufficiently obvious how great an influence the combinations of servants have on the fortunes, and even power, of their masters. Those of the Jesuits operate in a like manner with regard to states. Sovereigns are afraid of them; the people are jealous of them; and the other religious communities envy and hate them; yet their inviolable connection, and their incessant application, by all direct and oblique, or collateral means, helps them effectually to promote their single object, which is self interest, always advanced alike by advantages gained by them as a body, or by individuals,

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dividuals, who all act for one another: and by advancing the interests of one another, they gradually advance their collective power both to fleece and to govern.

It may likewise be remarked, from the example of Turkish policy, that power, when once obtained, soon becomes extensive in its operations. What great states of moors and other people do we see ruled, plundered, and trampled upon, by handfuls only of Turks! This is obvious in Greece, and some parts of Barbary and Tartary, where there are hardly more Turks than serve to officer and govern whole nations of slaves. Like shepherds, they have almost each of them a very numerous flock, not to feed, but to fleece and devour: which privileges they owe to their being, tho' a small one, a well connected host, that acts within an unconnected body, always operating under one direction, and indebted for security to universal intelligence and close combination.

Of a nature entirely correspondent with these is the system of Scotch policy, who are a people that in every thing act for common benefit. They are sedulous to avail themselves of the good will and good offices of all men, but they never do services themselves to any but one another: and having one common interest to promote, they push it every way with their utmost might. Of either of the three kingdoms they are by much the smallest body, and also naturally by much the poorest: yet by combination they are become greatly

the most flourishing of any; have always aimed at dominion over the rest, and are now, to all appearances, in a fair way of obtaining it.

A LOOKER-ON.

LETTER LV.

THERE is certain information that the French king has begun to lessen the taxes paid by his subjects; and that he has ordered some of the crown debts should be redeemable at twenty years purchase, without regard to the original capital, and others in proportion to what the present possessors paid for them, and that an equitable tax should be laid on all the freeholds of the kingdom, not excepting those of the crown, those of the princes of the blood, the ecclesiastics, nobles, or other privileged persons, of what nature soever; upon all of which I beg your permission for offering some remarks publicly to the consideration of the government, legislature, and people of Great Britain.

The first object to be considered in this relation is, the apparent haste France is in to retrieve her national circumstances; and, by putting her finances in good order, to become enabled to support a new offensive or defensive war: a circumstance that should influence every one of her neighbours to prepare for the like emergencies.

The second alarming point to be considered is, the facility in means for that purpose which

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which her disposition affords her. She has contracted debts at high interest, and arbitrarily redeems at twenty years purchase, to the immoderate prejudice of her public creditors. By which means, she will perhaps sink the capital she pays off near a half of its real value, by which a number of Dutch and English fools and traitors will in common with her own well-intentioned subjects, become enormously bubbled. I own I pity poor Frenchmen who are so unmercifully fleeced; but as for my own countrymen and the Dutch, I heartily wish their avarice and treachery were rewarded with the entire loss of what they have invested upon such rotten security, as the faith of a court which has never scrupled to violate any engagement of any kind whatsoever.

A third object to be remarked upon is, her resolving to redeem other debts; not at the real value, but at the prices at which they were purchased. Behold, ye infatuated Britons, the delusions of your own ignorance, in imagining the Dutch and other nations were doing ye service, by purchasing into your funds at a third less than their real value! which purchases they are now reselling at above thirty per cent. gain, and so draining ye of money, that your very national gold coins have been melting in crucibles, or exported without melting, at two or three per cent. loss, to redeem your mortgages to foreigners at, altogether, near the difference of forty pounds in the hundred

dred to our national prejudice. Oh ! fatal conjuration of delusion upon ignorance ! such are the fresh discovered fruits of your generous and wise alliances, your glorious victories, and your much boasted triumphs !

The fourth and last point to be considered is, the nature of the new taxations in France, for the retrieval of her national circumstances. These are made on solid property ; the inheritances of the crown, the princes of the blood, the ecclesiastics, the nobles, and other **PRIVILEGED** persons. O virtuous taxations of luxury and pomp, those banes of vicious nations, for the sake of easing labour, industry and traffic, those truest blessings and supports of a country ; and which grievous oppressions must gradually sink and even annihilate. Patriotic ministry of France, and glorious parliament of Paris ! proceed, and you must prevail over those who have been extending hateful and slave-making excises on the necessaries of life, and who are daily sacrificing all the restraints of wholesome police to the corruptions of magistracy, and the insatiable avarice of monopolizing dealers ; practices which by their joint operations must destroy all the manufactories of a country, and its only traffic that is beneficial, which is that of exportation.

And what has Great Britain been doing since the peace, but quarrelling, for what ? why the plunder of the community. In which squabbles patriotism has been the word, while
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the thing has not been so much as thought of. Has she been taxing the rich to ease the poor? or taking the loads off commerce, which is the sinew of all strength, and the source of all prosperity, in order to lay them upon luxury, which is the bane of vigour, virtue, and security? Has she been lessening or augmenting the emoluments of harpies? Has she been the practicer of œconomy? the restrainer of corruption? the augments of profusion? or only the talker of reformation?

FABRICIUS.

LETTER LVI.

ONE of the ministerial tools † has made a profound calculation of how many crimes a member of parliament may commit with impunity. This man, who is so desirous of abridging the privileges of the representatives of a free people, (which privileges, it ought to be remembered, are open to every one who can obtain a seat in parliament, and which privileges consequently all commoners ought to wish to maintain in their full force, as they or at least their posterity, may have the benefit of them) is, I do not doubt, a great admirer of prerogative. I forget how many crimes he laments may be committed with impunity by a member of parliament; but I would ask him if there is one crime in the whole catalogue which a monarch may not commit with impunity? If privilege tolerates crimes

† See Vol. I. pag. 157.

crimes, what does prerogative do? Yet Tories think it is still too much restricted!

J O H N.

L E T T E R LVII.

J O H N endeavours to maintain, that the extension of privilege of parliament is not at all unreasonable, because the *prerogative* of the crown has as many exclusive rights. This argument is by no means fit to be canvassed in a news-paper; and therefore I shall take no other notice of it than to ask, whether, in these times, we have ever had any reason to be alarmed at the extent of the *royal prerogative*? — If not, it cannot be put in comparison with *mr. Wilkes's privilege of parliament*.

WILLIAM.

L E T T E R LVIII.

WILLIAM would have been more in character if he had signed JAMES. I should not properly call it an answer, for he does not know how to answer an argument, but thinks to get off by asking a question. His question is, “has there been any stretch of prerogative?” Yes. In this country all illegal exertions of prerogative are deemed the acts of the ministers, who are answerable for every thing done in the king’s name. The ministers have stretched the prerogative in the most outrageous manner, by committing *mr. Wilkes* to close confinement.

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For the rest of WILLIAM's, alias JAMES's, answer, it is as silly as his question. He says, prerogative and privilege are topics not proper to be discussed. Not in France, perhaps, where *Lettres de cachet* and the *Bastile* are ready to silence all logic and reason. But in this country, in a free country, all the members have, and the most sensible of them will exert, a right of discussing what concerns them so materially as the constitution of their country. They will examine whether the laws are duly observed, and whether any restrictions, limitations, or alterations are necessary for the benefit of the whole; and they can, by their representatives, withhold supplies till abuses are redressed. The good of the commonwealth ought to be the first object of Englishmen: and they will laugh at every officious tool, who offers to tell them that there is any part of the constitution improper for their consideration.

The people, out of parliament, cannot alter the constitution of their country, nor correct any grievances that have crept into it: but they have full right of speaking and writing on such grievances; may remonstrate to and instruct their representatives; and can, upon new elections, refuse their voices to such representatives as have not paid due attention to the feelings of their constituents.

Mr. WILLIAM, alias JAMES, is perhaps, one of those persons who have taken upon them to compose sayings for a great personage
on

on every occasion, which he never uttered, and which they pretend to tell the public once a week or fortnight they have from undoubted authority. Such was one the other day* about fire works and dissentions, wrapped in the most pedantic language, and more suiting the mouth of a pedagogue than of a great king, who certainly never made such a speech. Does mr. WILLIAM make them, or the laureat, or the writer of the Gazette, or the bellman I should suppose the last. They are composed in his lamentable tone ; and have as much effect as if he cried, " Past one o'clock, the speech of a great personage, and a cloudy morning." Will any of these composers of

* The foolish paragraph here alluded to was as follows:

" A very great personage, speaking of the
 " method which an illustrious princess took to
 " celebrate a particular birth-day, we are
 " credibly informed expressed himself in the
 " following manner: — *I can't say but I was*
 " *greatly delighted at so very obliging a mark of*
 " *tenderness and esteem, but I have long since*
 " *learnt, not to be surprized at the most extra-*
 " *ordinary instances of politeness and regard, in*
 " *that ever amiable creature; her whole life*
 " *being a continued study to compensate for those*
 " *disagreeable circumstances that will frequently*
 " *occur from public dissentions to people in my*
 " *situation, but which, I will take upon me to*
 " *say, have never from any thought or action of*
 " *mine, been either countenanced or merited.*"

royal apothegms be so good as to acquaint us what the great personage intends to say next, for they, and no one else can tell.

J O H N.

L E T T E R L I X.

THE favourable reception which the printer of a public paper gave to my thoughts has drawn a swarm of *dunces* about him who all expect the like impartiality. I should desire he would indulge them because in time perhaps they may learn to write English and grammar.

The ministerial party urge, and we allow, that his m—— has no thought of extending his prerogative: why then was the topic broached? Why are the court sycophants so eager for the extension? Why this alacrity for slavery? No reign in the British annals surpasses the last in glory: every quarter of the globe saw our arms triumphant. A good, unambitious, old monarch, a whig-administration a brave and united people, all concurred to punish the perfidious French, and to assert the independence of this great, free, and valiant nation. Not a word of prerogative in a reign of three and thirty years. An empty, overbearing favourite succeeded; Tories, whose denomination was grown ridiculous, and out-laws were thrust into the places of meritorious Whigs, and the term prerogative was founded in all the purlieus of the drawing-room: innocently, to be sure, and without design. Remarkable, however, it is, very re-

VOL. II.

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markable,

markable, that TWICE, when this country has raised itself by its victorious arms to a situation of giving law to France and Spain, the sword has been wrenched out of the hand of conquest by the Tories. France has been saved by the same kind allies, and the yoke which we might have fixed for ever on the neck of tyranny, has been treacherously turned aside, and almost lifted upon our own.

But let the Tories, if they have one advocate that can spell, and is honest enough to speak out, tell us what they demand for prerogative. In what points do they desire to see it extended? (or dilated, as some of their foolish writers call it) what hair of liberty's sacred head do they wish to touch first? Indeed they must begin to explain themselves. The nation is exceedingly alarmed: and is jealous that dangerous designs are meditating, especially since the ministerial writers have set up prerogative against the privileges of parliament. We hope these political magpies only repeat the word prerogative to please their feeders; but if they dare go farther, they will soon know what a great independent nation thinks of traitors, who presume to utter and wish against the unalterable freedom of this constitution.

J O H N.

L E T T E R L X.

PERMIT me to be added to the number of those whom JOHN superciliously has pronounced *dunces*: in that humble rank I may

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safely claim the honour of being a good foil to enhance the superior splendor of my antagonist, to which the title I have assumed luckily corresponds.

He allows what ought to satisfy him and every good man, that we are in no danger of any extension of prerogative from that illustrious personage, who alone has the power of it; for I hope he does not reckon any act of the minister, or ministers, an extension of the prerogative: but certainly there is a prerogative invested in the sovereign which may be properly exercised for the good of the people, without approaching its utmost limits, much less extending it beyond its constitutional bounds. To his two queries, therefore, I answer, that the topic of the prerogative has as good a right to be broached and exercised too, as the privilege; that only court sycophants (of which I believe his majesty has as few about him as any prince can have) seek the extension of the one; and dupes of party the enlarging of the other.

Your correspondent's high panegyric on the late reign should have passed without a criticism from me, had he, with more truth and justice, excepted the present more glorious reign, whereof the early dawn has been more resplendent and beneficent to human nature than the whole late reign; witness the many chequerings which mark that period, I fear, not only to us, but our posterity.

"Not a word of prerogative (says John)
"in a reign of 33 years!"——I am afraid he

is a mere tyre in politics, and better deserves the name of master Jackey, otherwise he must remember how much the prerogative was insisted on, by many of the present opposition, to obstruct the passage of a certain gentleman (now their associate) into power within these seven years. And then, notwithstanding the violent clamour all over the nation, the prerogative would have proved too strong an obstacle, had not these worthy gentlemen (now branded with Toryism) generously and disinterestedly thrown their weight into the scale of public good, *without capitulating for places, pensions, or peerages, for themselves or heirs.*

He further says, "the nation is exceedingly alarmed, and is jealous that dangerous designs are meditating." Alarmed! For what? because the sovereign has voluntarily abridged the prerogative where it was most dangerous to the subject? Let the present pretended Whigs produce, in all the annals of their boasted Whig administration, one single act so noble, so disinterested and generous, as his present majesty has exhibited, *in making judges free and independent, uncontrouled by ministers or himself.*

Methinks the late king acted a contrary part in the latter end of his reign, by procuring an additional salary for the judges, to be distributed among them, at the discretion of the sovereign, during the administration of those very men who are now crying up the liberty of the subject, which is in no danger but from their getting into power again to

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After all, I am no advocate for Tories as Tories, nor enemies to Whigs as Whigs, provided they will agree about fair definitions; we will examine principles and practices of the several pretenders by these definitions, with the clear undeniable axioms of common sense and common honesty, otherwise sensible men must consider the name of Whig in politics as nothing better than ostentatious sanctity in religion, *a mere cloak for carrying on the most wicked and abandoned scenes of iniquity undiscovered*. If they persist in valuing themselves upon an airy name, I must beg your permission to salute them with a supplement to one of my former letters; but I rather wish they would leave off calling names, and use fair argument; if they really have truth and honesty on their side, let it appear, and I sincerely wish them success.

SIMPLEX.

LETTER LIXI.

THE request of SIMPLEX, is too modest and well founded to be denied. He asks to be admitted as a *dunce*; granted. His arguments are certificates: he needed not to coin so ridiculous a word as *Tyre* to show that he is that sort of dunce, which is not the better for education.

He says, *Ipse dixit*, we ought to be satisfied, if his majesty does not desire to extend his prerogative; and he hopes I no not reckon

any act of the minister's an extention of it. Nothing but profound ignorance and absurdity could hope so. The prerogative cannot be extended but by ministers: the law of England knows no act of the crown but through ministers. Not to know this is being a *dunce*. So it is to tell us, we ought to be satisfied if our liberties are invaded, provided they are not attacked by the crown itself. When he says there are as few court-sycophants at present as any prince can have, he is something more than a *dunce*.

He owns those sycophants have broached the doctrine of prerogative, and says there is as good right to broach it as to broach that of privilege. Unfortunately the former was started first, and without provocation. It was the word given out at the commencement of lord B—e's ministry. He laid the egg, and invited those geese, the Tories, to try to hatch it. When Simplex adds, that none but dupes of party seek the enlargement of privilege, he is again more than a *dunce*, and less than an Englishman. No freeman, none but an officious slave, would put prerogative and privilege on a foot. Prerogative might be lessened, and yet a king be happy. If he should not be, still but one man would suffer. Curtail privilege and millions are made miserable. Extend it; their happiness is enlarged. Luckily millions know this, and will not suffer their smallest privilege to be touched. The time-serving scriblers, who are offering up the liberty of their country to the crown, become

every

every day more and more despised. Their arguments, when they can produce any, shall be confuted, their nonsense exposed, and their attempts laid open to the public. There is a set of men, watchful and determined, who will burst these Tory cobwebs as fast as they are spun; and who intreat Simplex to keep his promise, and produce the supplement to some forgotten letter, which it seems he hammered out a few weeks ago: but for our part, we cannot be quite so complaisant as he supplicates us to be: we shall hunt down his nonsense as often as he starts it. It is excellent to see these declaimers daily writing against the liberties of their country, and begging to be treated with civility. No, they shall be branded as enemies to the commonwealth.

In one only point we agree with Simplex, alias Hyperbolus; it is in his high flown, but just panygeric, on the present reign, which, with him, we not only prefer to the last, but to all reigns that ever were or will be. By the same rule, as we think the treaty of Utrecht more glorious than the victories of the duke of Marlborough, we hold the peace which his grace the D. of B. so haughtily, and with such truly English spirit, dictated at Paris, to be more honourable than all the conquests we made in every quarter of the globe. We believe Florida to be more fruitful than Guadaloupe, and to yield in fertility to nothing but Scotland. We think the king of Prussia deserved to be treated like the Catalans, and we look on the flight to Harrogate as more heroic than the battle of Quebec

Pre-

Prerogative, continues Simplex, was made use of by some in the present opposition to obstruct mr. Pitt's advancement. *Wits have short memories and dunces none.* Simplex forgets that at the beginning of his letter he tried to distinguish between the crown and the ministers in the case of prerogative; and by his own argument (which being a bad one, might possibly have the more weight with him) I might answer, that I hope the act of the ministers was no act of the crown; consequently if not an act of the crown, no exertion of prerogative; for, according to dunce, Simplex, *the crown alone has the power of it.* This I might answer, if like Simplex, I could content myself with foolish reasons. But I shall answer him with facts and truth, and shall tell him into the bargain, that though dunces have no memories, I see they can remember what never happened. The prerogative was not in question one way or other in the advancement or non-advancement of mr. Pitt; no, nor the Tories. The then ministers would have kept him out of place by a majority in parliament. The voice of the nation, as it does now, called him to the helm. The Tories were rubbish, as they are still, and not reckoned. The ministers acquiesced with the wishes of their country; they did not try, like the Machiavels of these days to stem an irresistible torrent with Tory goose quills.

The case of the judges is as idle an instance as the rest, and only shows with what straws the court-parasites hope to make garlands.

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The additional salaries were no state measure ; they were given to keep the judges decently not to make them dependent, nor were ever supposed to have such effect. Whatever therefore has been done since, is of so little consequence, that Simplex has free leave to make the most of it, and to insert it with all the pomp he is master of in those annals, which we suppose he means to write, and which promise to be the sublime of bombast, and worthy of that theatric minister, to whom they probably will be dedicated. They, who think the permanance of the salaries any thing, are probably sorry they have been fixed, since the ENGLISH chief justice has acted so noble a part. We who think the whole addition a pedantic ostentation, believe that no dependence could have warped that great man from doing his duty. His uprightness must endear him to England, and while liberty exists, the name of Pratt will be held in veneration.

J O H N.

L E T T E R LXII.

WHEN gross falsehoods, in points of moment, are audaciously endeavoured to be imposed upon mankind, it becomes all lovers of truth to set the public right, by giving them the open contradiction they deserve. The authors of such infamous impositions are often the objects of contempt, but the people are entitled to be better informed.

No one of your correspondents has merited chastisement on this account more than SIM-
PLEX,

PLEX, who is entitled to that name in no other sense, but the vulgar English application of the word. In his letter published in your paper of Wednesday last, he affirms, that the *late king*, whose long reign will stand for ever distinguished in the annals of Great Britain, for a strict, constant, unvaried regard to liberty, *procured an additional salary to the judges, to be distributed amongst them at the discretion of the sovereign, during the administration of those very men who are now crying up the liberty of the subject.* But behold how groundless this reflection is, both upon that most excellent prince; and upon those ministers who then served him, with so much honour to themselves, and utility and glory to their country!

That additional salary was settled upon the judges by an act 32 George II. pag. 511, and is apportioned and limited to each judge and his successors in office, by an express enacting clause, out of the power of the crown to depart from. It is fit the words should be printed for the conviction of this deceiver.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the fifth day of July, there shall be issued, paid, and applied in every year, out of the monies which shall arise by the duties herein before granted, the sums of money following to the several judges herein after mentioned, as an addition to, and in augmentation of, their respective salaries; (that is to say) the sum of 500l. to each of the puisne judges for the time being in the court of

“ King’s

“ King’s Bench ; the sum of 500l. to each of
 “ the judges for the time being in the court
 “ of common pleas at Westminster ; the sum
 “ of 1000l. to the chief baron for the time
 “ being in the court of Exchequer at West-
 “ minster ; and the sum of 500l. to each of
 “ the other barons of the Coif for the time
 “ being in the said court of Exchequer ; the
 “ sum of 200l. to the chief justice of Chester
 “ for the time being ; the sum of 150l. to
 “ the second justice of Chester for the time
 “ being ; and the sum of 150l. to each of
 “ the justices for the time being of the Great
 “ sessions for the counties in Wales : which
 “ said several and respective sums of money
 “ shall be, and are hereby charged upon the
 “ rates and duties herein before granted, and
 “ shall be paid thereout in every year, at
 “ such time or times, and in such manner, as
 “ the salaries to the said judges now are, or
 “ have accustomedly been paid.”

What could tempt this unworthy scrib-
 ler to disgrace your paper by publishing so im-
 prudent and silly a falsehood ? Was it flattery ?
 His present majesty’s virtues are too con-
 spicuous, and too much revered by his peo-
 ple, to want to be set off by defaming his
 illustrious royal grandfather ; and his *own*
 innate magnanimity is such, as to condemn
 all those mean and despicable arts.

July 9, 1763.

L E T T E R LXIII.

[Simplex, that foolish and despicable mi-
 nisterial defender, who deserves only to be
 remem-

remembered for the injury he did the cause, finding himself fully confuted, and exposed in having advanced an entire falshood, published the following letter, by way of recantation and excuse. Was there ever such a wretched writer set up for a ministerial advocate !]

I CANNOT be too early in acknowledging to you, and the public, my mistake relating to the judges salaries. Far from desiring to impose the least appearance of falshood on mankind, I sincerely seek for truth and the publishing of it. Notwithstanding the angry method of doing it, I am obliged to your nameless correspondent for his early rectifying my mistake ; but I solemnly declare, my memory only was my seducer, which every man is subject to, in ruminating on a multitude of variegated events. I would not, at the expence of truth, support any party, for am unconnected with any in power, or that have been in power, and only wish to see public peace and tranquility restored on the safest foundation, *truth* and *justice*. Any Gentleman who will take the pains to rectify what other mistakes I may have committed in my letters, shall have my sincere thanks, with this assurance, they will not be more angry than I shall be vexed with myself, if any more such appear. Memory thus treacherous, shall never more be trusted by me, in reciting past transactions, without careful reference to authentic vouchers. Begging your pardon, I am,

SIMPLEX.
LET-

L E T T E R LXIV.

I HAVE a word or two to say to the pert and self sufficient mr. SIMPLEX, who has been deservedly brought to shame. In answer to his invidious and impertinent comparison of a reign of two years and nine months with a reign of thirty three years and upwards, let him be told that no character can be pronounced of any reign till it is finished. When this reign has continued as many years as the last, or when it is concluded, it will be then time enough to make the comparison. The first *nine* years of queen Anne, were as honourable for herself and as glorious for her people, as any that are recorded in the English annals. But a change of her old ministry, and the infamous peace made with France, sunk her own character into contempt, and deprived her subjects of those advantages which their conquests gave them a right to expect. Without entering into the womb of futurity, and prophesying what may happen hereafter, which on the present occasion it would be no difficult thing perhaps to do; I will venture to say of times past, that if ever there was a monarch upon the throne of England since EDWARD VI. who was deservedly above all men, the object of the love and confidence of his people, it was GEORGE the SECOND.

J U S T U S.

END of VOL. II.

In a few Days will be published,

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